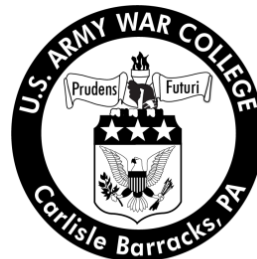


Strategy Research Project International Fellow

Defeating Terrorism through a Politico-Military Strategy: The Sri Lankan Experience

by

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United States Army War College
Class of 2012

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THE SRI LANKAN EXPERIENCE**

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ABSTRACT

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Sri Lanka is an island nation situated near the southern tip of India. Its land mass is 25,332 sq. mi. in extent and is blessed with a population of 21 million people consisting of three distinct ethnic groups; Sinhalese (74%), Tamils (18%) and Muslims (7%). Divide et impara of the colonial rule and short sighted policies of certain Sinhalese and Tamil extremist socialist and nationalist elements in the post independence era, led to social movements in the 1920s and 1950s respectively. In 1970s, these movements transformed into insurgencies and terrorists and lasted for nearly three decades. The governments that came to power since 1983 failed to successfully resolve the insurgency due to geo-political influences and failure to comprehensively frame the ethnic problem. However, governments since 1990 finally comprehended the dynamics of the ethnic problem and, through a pragmatic counter-terrorism strategy, were successful in isolating the ruthless international terrorist organization, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elam (LTTE) and comprehensively defeated it in May 2009. The success was a result of the comprehensive politico-military strategy developed and implemented by the Sri Lankan government.

DEFEATING TERRORISM THROUGH A POLITICO MILITARY STRATEGY THE SRI LANKAN EXPERIENCE

The island nation of Sri Lanka, known as the pearl of the Indian Ocean, became the teardrop of the Indian Ocean due to brutal ethnic terrorism during the last three decades. After struggling to frame the conflict during the first two decades of ethnic strife, the government developed a pragmatic politico-military strategy to meet the challenges of hybrid-terrorism – fighting that incorporate irregular warfare, conventional warfare, suicide attacks and terrorism. Sri Lanka implemented this policy with great success from the late 90's to 2009. This paper will discuss and draw important lessons from Sri Lanka's successful politico-military strategy that may help other nations shape their strategies to comprehensively defeat terrorism.

This paper highlights the historical issues that led to ethnic insurgency in Sri Lanka and how the lack of a comprehensive counter-terrorism strategy transformed the insurgency into hybrid-terrorism. The geo-politics in the South Asian region complicated the ethnic issue and provided the insurgent groups much needed sanctuaries as well as psychological and logistic backing. In order to provide scientific analysis to terrorism in Sri Lanka, it is discussed using the terrorism framework of Donatella della Porta and the social movement framework of Rodney Stark. Many similarities in global terrorism can be observed through these well researched frameworks. In turn, these frameworks can assist in bounding the problem prior to developing strategies. As it is important to thoroughly comprehend the enemy's strategy prior to developing a counter-strategy, this paper makes every attempt to analyze the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elam (LTTE) strategy in depth. The discussion then leads to the successful Sri Lankan politico-

military strategy that comprehensively defeated terrorism. This paper concludes by drawing important lessons from its innovative campaign which can be a model for future counterterrorism strategies.

Historical Background to the Ethnic Crisis

The island nation of Sri Lanka can boast of a well documented history of more than 2,500 years. As per the Sri Lankan history book, *Mahavansa*, documented by the Buddhist clergy, King Vijaya is recorded to have arrived from India in 543 BC and begot the country's majority race Sinhala.¹ According to the *Mahavansa* the country (then called Lanka)² was ruled by 174 Kings from 543 BC to 1816 AD.³

The first partial colonization occurred in 1505 with the arrival of the Portuguese. The Portuguese ruled the coastal area of the country for 121 years, with the establishment of a fortress in the port city of Colombo.⁴ Subsequently the Dutch conquered the coastal area from the Portuguese in 1656. Further, the British were successful in conquering the entire island in 1815.⁵ Lanka experienced many cultural and religious changes due to the introduction of missionary education and the mass conversion of Buddhists to Christianity by colonial powers.

A traditional Tamil kingdom in the north of Lanka can be traced back to the 13th century.⁶ Discontent and animosity between the Sinhala and Tamil community is well documented. Both communities have made stringent efforts to preserve their ethnic identities. As per Prof. Wiswa Warnapala, "there is historical evidence to support (dis)contention, and the epic battle between Duttagamini (Sinhala King) and Elara (Tamil King).⁷ The successive invasions from South India – which weakened the Sinhala Kingdoms of Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa – strengthened the argument that there was traditional antagonism between the Sinhala and Tamils."⁸

The genesis of geo-political influence on ethnic strife in Sri Lanka can be traced back to the 13th Century.⁹ The Sinhalese suspected their heritage, possession of the island nation, religion (Buddhism) and language were threatened by the Tamils in the north (of Sri Lanka) who are geographically and ethnically inclined to South India. K. M. De Silva, a Sri Lankan historian writing on the evolution of a Tamil Kingdom in the north, wrote that the establishment of the Tamil Kingdom in the north of Sri Lanka resulted in a geographical separation of the Sinhalese (in the south) from the Tamils (in the north).¹⁰

Through colonial religion and missionary education, the administration of the Portuguese and Dutch created an elite class. It was created by offering the best education and elite jobs to people who embraced Christianity. This caused the rise of Sinhala nationalism and a campaign to preserve Buddhism and the Sinhala language from extinction.¹¹ Marginalization of the Sinhala race was further aggravated by the British 'divide et impera' policy and their decision to bring a large number of South Indians¹² as laborers in the estate sector.¹³ The introduction of Indian Tamil labor to Sri Lanka made a huge impact on the ethnic balance and further fuelled ethnic based politics in Sri Lanka. Even though two Tamil communities, the Sri Lankan Tamils in the north and east, and the Indian Tamils in the estate sector (in central Sri Lanka) do not share common political aspirations, both have strong links to south Indian polity which further complicated the ethnic conflict during the British rule.

The British gradually granted Sri Lanka independence through the following steps:

- 1833 – Executive and legislative councils were established. The function of the legislative council was to advise the British governor on legislative

- matters. Appointment to the council was made by the governor and members were selected from the local European residents and native Sri Lankans. The principle of communal representation was adopted by nominating the native representatives to the legislative council.¹⁴ Under the concept of communal representation, Tamils elite enjoyed substantial power, even as a minority. Therefore, the communal tension was at the lowest during this period of time.
- 1923 - Expanded Legislative Council with restricted franchise was established.¹⁵ This was in response to a Sinhalese demand for such a council in 1917. However, under restricted franchise the British decided to elect members based on educational qualifications and wealth.¹⁶
 - 1931 - As a further step toward independence, the Donoughmore Constitution¹⁷ based on territorial representation came into effect. The highlights of the Donoughmore Constitution were: the abolition of the communal representation, the introduction of adult suffrage and the establishment of a semi-responsible governmental status. As this was a total turnaround of the British divide and rule policy, it hurt the Tamil community in general and the Tamil elite in particular due to losing the privileged status they enjoyed under colonial rule. Under communal representation, the ratio of representation between the Tamil and Sinhala was 1:2, respectively. The Donoughmore Constitution's territorial representation changed the ratio to 1:5.¹⁸ In their recommendations, the Donoughmore Commissioners stated, "we have come unhesitatingly to the conclusion that communal representation is, as it were, a canker in the body politics, eating deeper and deeper into the

vital energies of the people, breeding self interest, suspicion and animosity, poisoning the new growth of political consciousness, and effectively preventing the development of national or cooperative spirit.”¹⁹

- 1948 - Sri Lanka, then Ceylon, gained independence.²⁰

Run-up to the independence saw visible discontent between Tamils on the issue of their share of governance. The Tamils and Sinhalese communities observed the double standards of the colonial British power policies during their period of rule and subsequent recommendations made to the independent Ceylon. This post-independence political environment that was created by the British further fueled discontent between the two communities due to short sighted or hasty decisions of successive governments. This situation subsequently led to insurgency stimulated through mass social movements.

The independent Ceylon was governed by the British Westminster form of parliamentary system. Elections were conducted on the ‘first past the post’²¹ electoral system until 1978.²² The form of government and the electoral system favored the majority community. Politicians had to satisfy the majority community in order to gain and maintain power in such a system and Sri Lanka was not an exception. Sri Lankan government leaders made many blunders in the strategic decision making process by shaping the polity hastily to satisfy the majority. Many decisions were made on the assumption the minority enjoyed unreasonable privileges due to the divide and rule policy of the British. This was true in many aspects but not as absolute as politicians portrayed it.²³ This led to major changes in the social order through constitutional

reforms, which further distanced the two communities. Some of the acts perceived as discriminatory by Tamils that led to a series of riots are as follows:²⁴

- 1949 - Disenfranchising of Indian Tamils.²⁵
- 1956 - Sinhala only act.²⁶
- 1956 - Prefixing the Sinhala letter 'SRI' on all number plates of vehicles.²⁷
- Non-implementation of Bandaranaike – Chelvanayagam pact of 1957; and Dudley Senanayake – Chelvanayagam pact of 1966.²⁸ These agreements were signed to grant Tamil autonomy and recognize minority rights. Both pacts were abrogated due to hard-line Sinhalese pressure.²⁹
- 1970 - Standardization of education.³⁰
- 1970 - Recognizing Buddhism as the main religion by the constitution.
- Perceived colonization in traditional Tamil areas.
- July 1983 riot that is considered as the precipitating event in Tamil insurgency and ethnic riots that occurred in 1956, 1958, 1961, 1974, 1977, 1979, 1981.³¹
- Less job opportunities in the government sector.

However, the main Tamil demand as articulated in the 1931, 50/50 representation was political power sharing³² for Tamils and Sinhalese. This demand, reiterated in the 1976 Vadukodai resolution demanded a separate Tamil state.³³ This demand was based on the incorrect argument the traditional Tamil homeland had existed for 3000 years in north and east of Sri Lanka.³⁴ In 1976, the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) election manifesto adopted by the Vadukkodai Resolution, and masterminded by Appapilai Amarthaligam,³⁵ had the following strong wording in it, “the Tamil speaking representatives who get elected... while being members of the National

State Assembly of Sri Lanka, will also form themselves into the National Assembly of Tamil Elam and establish the independent Tamil Elam by peaceful means or by direct action of struggle.”³⁶ Therefore, the Vadukkodai resolution is regarded as the culminating point in the social movement curve in transforming into insurgency.

While some of the demands of the Tamil polity were reasonable, some were unreasonable, highly political and influenced by the strong lobby of 70 million Tamils spread all over the world. Above all other factors, south Indian Tamil influence played a major role in Sri Lankan politics. They consistently encouraged their cousins across the Palk Strait to establish a separate state. This separate state would serve as a spring board for their aspirations of a greater Tamil state.³⁷ Therefore the geo-political setting and Indian factor is an influential and inseparable factor in the Sri Lankan ethnic crisis.

Geo-political Setting and Indian Intervention



Figure 1. Map of Sri Lanka Indicating its Location to India³⁸

Sri Lanka is a 25,332 sq. mi. island nation with 21 million people situated south east of the Indian subcontinent. Sri Lanka's close proximity to southern India and the

largest Tamil constituency in the world has enormous influence on Sri Lankan domestic politics. Geo-political influence, which was a major driving force behind the Tamil insurgency in Sri Lanka, will be discussed in this section.

Regionally, India has land borders with Pakistan, Bangladesh, China, Nepal and Bhutan. The Indian population is 1.21 billion of which 64 million are Tamils. The Tamils live in southern India and have a great influence on Sri Lankan national politics due to their proximity to the Tamil population in northern Sri Lanka.³⁹

Proximity and the Palk-Strait. The Palk-Strait is the closest point between Sri Lanka and India separating the two by a 22 mile shallow ocean stretch. A geographical study of the Palk-Strait will reveal the existence of large boulders indicating evidence of connectivity between the two land masses. This gives credence to the ancient Ramayanaya epic of the onetime existence of a bridge named “Rama’s Bridge”, now widely known as “Adam’s Bridge” (see Figure 1).⁴⁰ The historical surface connectivity between the two countries continued in the form of a ferry service. The ferry operated between Rameswaran, India and Talai-Mannar, Sri Lanka until 1983. It was terminated due to terrorist strife.

This narrow and shallow stretch, with a depth ranging from 3 ft to 30 ft obstructs sea movement between the east and west of India raising the strategic and commercial value of Sri Lankan ports in the Indian Ocean. The port of Colombo, the main port on the western coast of Sri Lanka, acts as a transit port for European, Middle Eastern and African large ships transporting cargo to India, especially to the east coast of India.

Since the narrow stretch of Palk-Strait obstructs the contiguous navigational ability of the Indian coastal line, India was planning to construct the Setu Samudra canal

at a cost of Indian Rs 29,200 crore (Rs 292 billion or \$ 6 billion).⁴¹ The project is not to the advantage of Sri Lanka because it can have an impact on the commercial viability of Sri Lankan ports and lower their strategic importance. Due to the political importance of India in resolving the ethnic crisis in Sri Lanka and in defeating terrorism, Sri Lanka was neutral on the issue of the Setu Samudra project. This project has now come to a standstill on an April 21, 2010 ruling by the Indian Supreme Court heeding to the wishes, objections, and recommendations of the environmentalists and religious activists.

The Palk-Strait is a thriving fishing ground for both India and Sri Lanka. Large numbers of Indian fisherman breaching the Palk-Strait Indo-Sri Lanka maritime border is a contentious political issue. The number of fishermen being arrested on encroachment violations increases every year resulting in political tension between the two nations. The violation of maritime boundaries has led to many security issues such as human smuggling, smuggling of contraband (including weapons and ammunition), and free passage for political activists, insurgents and terrorists. The LTTE exploited this situation by not only smuggling material, but also by launching suicide attacks against Sri Lankan Naval craft.⁴² Loss of revenue due to the smuggling of commercial goods too, is a major issue for Sri Lanka. Local industries in Sri Lanka are negatively impacted by cheap goods flooding the Sri Lankan market.

Demography and Separatist Ideology. India is home for 64 million Tamils as opposed to 2 million Tamils in Sri Lanka. Like the Jews prior to the creation of Israel by a UN resolution on May 14, 1948, 70 million Tamils worldwide believe they are a nation without a state. The lack of a territorial state further binds the Tamils and rouses the

nationalistic feeling of the large number of Tamils living in countries such as India, Sri Lanka, Malaysia, Singapore, Mauritius and Fiji. Additionally, the nationalist wave has spread to diaspora Tamils in the UK, US, Canada, France, Norway and Australia.

The idea of separatism first stemmed from southern Indian Tamils. The desire and inner drive of the Tamils for self rule dates back to the 1800s and has remained ever since.⁴³ The original self rule idea was to create a 'Dravida Desam'- a separate country for all Tamil people living in the world to include the following noncontiguous geographic areas:⁴⁴

- Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Andhara, and Karnataka states of India.
- Anticipated state of Eelam in north and east of Sri Lanka.
- Malaya Nadu in the plantation area of central Sri Lanka.
- Fiji.
- Mauritius.

This embedded desire has had a great impact on Sri Lankan politics because the minority Tamil community has its roots in southern India. In a regional context, the majority Sinhala race of 19 million in Sri Lanka is a minority as opposed to 66 million Tamils in total, that live both in Sri Lanka and India. This complex majority – minority relationship-has a great impact on regional and local politics as well as the separatist ideology. The government of India was able to checkmate the issue of Tamil separatism through regional devolution of power and strong laws pertaining to the unified union status.

Change in Sri Lankan Political Landscape and Indo-Lanka Relations. The regional political environment took a sharp turn in 1977 when J R Jayawardene was

elected as the Sri Lankan Prime Minister with a two-thirds majority. A renowned statesman and a mature politician, he was famous for his eloquent speech delivered in San Francisco in 1951 concerning pardoning Japan.⁴⁵ He used the benefit of the two-thirds majority in the parliament to change the constitution from a parliamentary system to an executive presidential system and became the first executive president of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka. Though he named the country a socialist republic to satisfy the non-aligned movement (NAM) and USSR, his policies were capitalist and western oriented. The economy was converted to a market oriented economy based on free trade, the first country in south Asia to do so. Jayawardene established strong ties with the US and the UK and initiated significant development projects in the areas of irrigation, electricity, infrastructure and agriculture. Many free trade zones with lucrative tax holidays and other benefits were established which attracted mega industries to establish their plants in Sri Lanka. Voice of America was given the green light to establish a retransmission facility and Israel was invited to establish the only “interest section” in south Asia. Jayawardene was the only non-aligned leader to endorse the military action of the UK against Argentina during the Falkland’s war. These pro-western measures were not to the predilection of the then Indian Prime Minister, Indhira Gandhi.

Gandhi, a strong Indian nationalist and a staunch socialist with sturdy links to the USSR, viewed Jayawardene’s pro western policies and rapid development in Sri Lanka suspiciously. The rapid change of Sri Lankan non-aligned foreign policy was considered a threat to Indian expansion and national security by its intelligence agencies, especially the Intelligence Bureau (IB) and Research and Analysis Wing (RAW).⁴⁶ Jayawarde’s

close dealings with Moraji Desai, the deputy Prime Minister of India also angered Gandhi as Desai was considered a Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) agent by the RAW.⁴⁷

This situation was perceived by Gandhi as antagonistic and volatile and led her to approve Operation Sri Lanka. Operation Sri Lanka was three fold; firstly, to finance, train and arm militants to destabilize Sri Lanka; secondly, to offer India's good office through the Indian external affairs ministry and the Prime Minister's office to resolve the ethnic issue in Sri Lanka;⁴⁸ and thirdly, to strengthen Indian Southern Command to deal with any contingency.⁴⁹ RAW commenced the top secret Sri Lanka operation in 1983.⁵⁰ Retired military personnel, under the supervision of the RAW, began training the Sri Lankan militants in 35 designated training camps in India. Indira Gandhi assigned her most trusted and loyal men namely R N Kao⁵¹ and G Parathasarathy to the Sri Lankan operation.⁵² The main reason India was concerned about Sri Lanka was not because Sri Lanka was perceived as a direct military threat, but increased western influence and alienation from the non-aligned format could have an adverse effect on Indian interests in the region. Additionally, Sri Lanka's bold decision to allow Pakistan military flights to refuel coupled with the US tilt towards Pakistan had caused India to be concerned about Sri Lanka.⁵³ Though India claims that their concern grew due to large numbers of Tamil refugees from the northern part of Sri Lanka the real reason was different as R N Kao later admitted.⁵⁴

Indian Support to Sri Lankan Tamil Insurgents. India initially trained and armed as many as 2000 Sri Lankan rebels and continued training more in the years to come.⁵⁵ By early 1987, training camps in northern and southern India produced approximately

15,000 initial cadres for the LTTE, Peoples Liberation Organization for Tamil Eelam (PLOTE), Eelam Peoples' Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF), Eelam Revolutionary Organization for Students (EROS) and Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization (TELO).⁵⁶

Initial Indian Military Intervention. In August 1986, Sri Lanka launched a major military offensive code named 'Operation Liberation' to eradicate the insurgency in the northern peninsula. India objected to the offensive. Sri Lanka disregarded Indian pressure and continued the military operation against the ethnic insurgency. By June 1987 the operation was partially successful in liberating the Vadamarachchi⁵⁷ area of the Jaffna Peninsula. Unfortunately, it had to be abandoned halfway through due to Indian military intervention.

On 4 June 1987, India boldly and deliberately violated Sri Lankan air space by sending 5 Soviet-built AN 32 transports escorted by 4 French-built Mirage fighters to conduct a food drop to the rebel held areas.⁵⁸ Through diplomatic channels, India informed Sri Lanka of their intentions of dropping food to an alleged starving, war ravaged population. Despite Sri Lankan protests, India conducted the airdrop. On the Sri Lankan side, the northern Palali airstrip was blocked and troops were kept on alert to oppose an Indian landing. To avoid a crisis situation, all other troops were issued strict instructions not to engage Indian aircraft. On the Indian side, the Indian Air Force was kept on alert to meet any eventuality and the pilots were issued instructions to fire only if fired upon. The operation was a success from the Indian perspective as Indian aircraft were able to drop 25 metric tons of food and return to base safely. They were also able to deliver a strong message to the Sri Lankan government.

The Sri Lankan ethnic crisis had many ramifications in Indian domestic politics, especially south Indian politics. Therefore India wanted to send a strong message to Sri Lanka through its military action while keeping the south Indian constituency contented. Sri Lanka also realized that a military solution to the crisis was not viable due to geo-political interface and the need for Indian help to resolve the ethnic crisis.⁵⁹

Indo-Lanka Accord and the Thirteenth Amendment to the Sri Lankan Constitution. Due to the pressure exerted by India, Sri Lanka was forced to seek Indian involvement and settled for political dialogue with insurgent groups through Indian mediation. These talks led to the Indo-Lanka accord which was signed in Colombo on 29 July 1987. Rajiv Gandhi, son of Indira Gandhi and the Prime Minister of India came to Sri Lanka to sign the agreement with President J R Jayawardene.⁶⁰ The main components of the agreement were; devolution of power to the provinces and the Government of Sri Lanka agreed to amend its constitution and create regional Provincial Councils. The same agreement compelled all the insurgent groups to disarm and to accept creation of the Provincial Councils. This agreement provided for a power sharing arrangement as a solution to the ethnic divide. An Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) was to observe the implementation of the accord.

A noteworthy incident occurred during a visit of Rajiv Gandhi. To show his displeasure on Indian intervention Vijayamuni, a Sri Lankan naval rating, attacked the Prime Minister with his rifle butt. Vijayamuni's action was only the tip of the iceberg. Sri Lankans living in southern Sri Lanka, including the main opposition party and certain elements of the ruling party, protested against the Indo-Lanka accord in general and arrival of the IPKF in particular. This situation in the south led to an attempted

insurrection by Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP – Peoples Liberation Organization consist mainly of Sinhala youth).⁶¹

The government wrote the 13th amendment to the constitution as a condition of the Indo-Lanka accord, devolving power to provinces. The accord stipulated Sri Lanka would temporarily merge north and east provinces.⁶² The architects of the constitution attempted to maintain a balance between the “unitary status” and “federalism” in order to satisfy both the Sinhalese and Tamils communities. The leading Sri Lankan constitutional lawyer, H L De Silva, had this to say on the 13th amendment, “... constitution of Sri Lanka seeks to maintain its original form as a unitary constitution, we also find within it the essential framework for enjoying the substance of federalism.”⁶³ Renowned Indian writer AP Ghosh commented that the accord compromised Sri Lankan independence.⁶⁴ As the government enjoyed a two-thirds majority in the parliament the amendment was passed despite southern based opposition party protests.

Arrival of the IPKF was initially welcomed by the Tamil population in the north. However, the LTTE went underground and refused to surrender arms as stipulated by the Indo-Lanka agreement. The so-called peace keepers had to initiate military operations against the LTTE to force them to meet the requirements of the agreement. The LTTE vehemently refused to comply and took on the 100,000 strong Indian army. At the same time, the Sri Lankan army had to fight the southern insurrection launched by the JVP. This situation is a classic example of foreign invasions/interventions creating insurgencies. The JVP was waiting for an opportunity to launch an insurrection and was offered one on a platter by both Indian and Sri Lankan short sighted policies.

This situation can be compared to the recent Iraq situation where the US invasion was a blessing in disguise to Iraqi insurgents.

Through excellent intelligence and well coordinated military action, the Sri Lanka military was able to crush the southern insurgency in three years (1987 – 1990). However, the IPKF fought the LTTE without success. Day by day the IPKF lost popular support and became a reactive force to LTTE's innovative and brutal action.

In November 1988, in accordance with the Indo-Lanka agreement, the government of Sri Lanka conducted provincial council elections. The EPRLF and Eelam National Democratic Liberation Front (ENDLF) combined to win the majority of seats in the newly merged north-east provincial council and Mr. Varatharajah Perumal became its Chief Minister. Premadasa, the new Sri Lankan president, came to power in January 1989 promising to drive the Indian forces back and to demand their immediate withdrawal. Premadasa, in doubt of Indian intentions, initiated secret negotiations with the LTTE and financed and supplied them with arms, ammunition and other material to fight the IPKF. This resulted in diplomatic tension between the two countries and relations dipped to their lowest level ever. Rajiv Gandhi lost 1989 elections and the new Indian PM, VP Singh was from the coalition government led by the National Front.⁶⁵ He had to heed to the Sri Lankan demand due to heavy Indian casualties and domestic pressure. After battling the LTTE for nearly 3 years, the last soldier of the IPKF left Sri Lankan soil on 24 March 1990. During the IPKF military intervention 1,555 Indian military personnel were killed and 2,984 were injured. The financial expenditure exceeded \$200 M.⁶⁶ Interestingly South Indian politicians continued to support LTTE during IPKF operations against the LTTE, due to strong ethnic bonding.

Prior to the withdrawal of IPKF the RAW, with the support of the IPKF and Chief Minister Perumal, formed a militia group called the Tamil National Army (TNA) to offset Premadasa's support to the LTTE and to strengthen Perumal's position.⁶⁷ When the Chief Minister and the members of the North-east Provincial Council unilaterally declared independence on 1 March 1991, President Premadasa was forced to dissolve the north-east Provincial Council in order to uphold the Sri Lankan constitution.⁶⁸ Consequently the Chief Minister fled to India and LTTE crushed the TNA completely ceasing the initiative.⁶⁹

The Indo-Lanka accord failed to end the Sri Lankan ethnic crisis.⁷⁰ Neither the Tamils nor Sinhalese saw it as a viable solution. All agreed the accord was signed due to Indian pressure. After reluctantly agreeing to abide by the agreement, the LTTE leader Prabakaran said, "Tiger's thirst for their motherland could certainly not have been quenched by a north-east provincial council ... under a unitary Sri Lanka and a Sinhala president which Indo-Lanka accord provides for."⁷¹ Further, a former Indian Secretary of Information and Broadcasting observed, "... accords are signed not on paper, but in the hearts of men ... the crucial fact that no accord would succeed unless the militants in Punjab or in Sri Lanka also subscribed to it was conveniently overlooked. We made the same mistake in Sri Lanka as we did in Punjab. Signing a government level agreement without first seeking adequate acceptance of the LTTE ... the signing of an accord is only a symbolic gesture. It requires substance meticulous implementation..."⁷² On the other hand, signing the accord provoked Sinhala sentiments in the south and created an insurgency. The LTTE felt great vengeance towards Rajiv Gandhi not only for masterminding the accord but also for the IPKF killing approx 5,000 of its members.⁷³ This

vengeance culminated in 21 May 1991 when Rajiv Gandhi was killed by a suicide bomber at an election rally in south India.⁷⁴ This was one of the biggest strategic blunders by the LTTE. It resulted in RAW splitting from the LTTE and forced the Indian government to declare the LTTE as a terrorist group and ban it in India in 1992. The Sri Lankan government took advantage of this situation by convincing the international community to declare LTTE as a terrorist group and to ban it in 32 countries.⁷⁵

Indian intervention in Sri Lanka taught many lessons to both countries and also to the world community. Indian intervention clearly proved how second and third order affects arise when foreign powers get militarily involved in other countries. The Indian intervention enabled the JVP, a suppressed insurgent movement in southern Sri Lanka, to resurface with a popular theme. Though Tamils in the north initially thought their cousins from southern India had come to resurrect them from the devil, later they cursed them for massacring their fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters and children. India flexed its muscles and intervened to send a message to the rest of the world to accept them as a regional power. But India grossly miscalculated its action. The mighty Indian army lost its international standing as a formidable force. India suspected the involvement of other nations in the Sri Lankan issue and it wanted to prevent such involvement through their military intervention. As a growing power with nuclear capability, India needed to be recognized as a power house in the world community. Richard Armitage, former US Assistant Secretary of State recognized this Indian dynamic and stated, "Given India's growing power it is incumbent on it to articulate a foreign policy that lays out a road map showing exactly how it intends to apply its considerable influence in the future."⁷⁶

After withdrawing the IPKF from Sri Lanka, India made a firm decision not to continue direct involvement in the Sri Lankan crisis. South Indian politics compelled India's central government to show concern about the political developments in Sri Lanka. Similarly, Sri Lanka recognized the importance of India in resolving its ethnic crisis. This situation led the two countries to work in concert to resolve the ethnic issue.

Regional Politics and Diplomacy. Sri Lanka played a major role in the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SARRC) and has maintained a well balanced foreign policy with all the countries in the region. Unfortunately, India does not maintain good ties with its neighbors. Pakistan, a member of SARRC, fought two wars with India and does not maintain a good relationship with India. The Sri Lanka-Pakistan bilateral relationship has been strong ever since Pakistan independence. Pakistan and China were main arms suppliers to Sri Lanka during the Sri Lankan crisis. China, another neighbor of India, fought a war against India in 1962 has been a very close ally of Sri Lanka. As a result, India felt threatened by Sri Lanka's close relations between Pakistan and China.

In order to gain and maintain support in the campaign against the LTTE, Sri Lanka had to maintain a delicate balance in its foreign policy with all the nations in the region. While obtaining material support from Pakistan and China to defeat the LTTE, Sri Lanka was able to keep India on its side throughout the humanitarian military campaign. Indian support was vital in keeping the western powers influenced by the Tamil Diaspora from interfering in Sri Lankan affairs.

Nuclear Power Politics. India and Pakistan acquiring nuclear weapons completely changed the geopolitical landscape of the south Asian region. Indian

aspiration to be a nuclear power began with the first test of a nuclear device on 4 May 1974.⁷⁷ ⁷⁸ On 18 March 1989, Rajiv Gandhi decided to manufacture weapons and by 1990 India had stockpiled at least two dozen unassembled weapons.⁷⁹ Finally in May of 1998, India detonated two nuclear devices, in the Rajasthan desert and joined the exclusive nuclear weapon club.⁸⁰ One week later Pakistan too successfully tested their nuclear device elevating their status to a nuclear capable state. This dramatic change, coupled with India's desire for a permanent UN Security Council seat compelled both India and Pakistan to behave cautiously. Both these nations aspired to be global power houses to dissuade interference by other global powers in their internal affairs and in regional matters. This, together with the new Indian policy of non-interference with Sri Lankan internal affairs was a favorable geo-political environment for Sri Lanka to defeat the LTTE.

Through a strenuous process of shuttle diplomacy, Sri Lanka was able to keep India on its side throughout the crucial period of August 2006 through May 2009. Indian and Sri Lankan special emissaries went between the two countries extensively in order to prevent misunderstandings during the conflict. This Sri Lankan policy paved the way for Sri Lanka to continue military operations.

The regional geo-political condition, the ethnic bond between northern Sri Lanka and southern India coupled with their proximity was an excellent environment to breed insurgency. Colonial powers sowed the seeds of insurgency through their divide et impara and post colonial governments and Indian intelligence services nurtured it by their policies. Using a scientific lens and social and terrorism frameworks, this paper will now trace the evolution of the insurgency from a social movement to terrorism.

Evolution of Terrorism in Sri Lanka

Terrorism is a global phenomenon with historical roots. The subject of terrorism took a turn with the 9/11 attacks due to their ferocity, innovation, lethality and global reach. Additionally, counter-terrorism also took a giant stride due to fact that terrorists attacked the sole super power nation, the US. Coincidentally, it was 100 years ago in 1901, when terrorism struck the US. An anarchist terrorist killed President William McKinley.⁸¹ In response, President Theodore Roosevelt did exactly what President George W. Bush did, calling for a “crusade to exterminate terrorism everywhere.”⁸² This call, like the declaration of “war on terrorism,” was a call for a unified global effort. Interest on the subject of terrorism grew largely due to the threat it posed to the western world. This led to scientific research on the root causes and evolution of terrorism. This research established common roots and roadmaps to terrorism and attempted to explain terrorism using those frameworks. This section will discuss the evolution of Sri Lankan terrorism using well acclaimed social movement and terrorism frameworks which helped in developing the comprehensive Sri Lankan counter-terrorism strategy.

David C Rapport’s Waves Theory. The terrorism expert, David C. Rapoport, identified anarchist terrorism starting in the 1880s as the beginning of modern global terrorism.⁸³ According to him, “Three similar, consecutive, and overlapping expressions followed. The ‘anti-colonial wave’ began in the 1920 and lasted for about forty years. Then came the ‘new left wave,’ which diminished greatly as the 20th century closed, leaving only a few groups active. In 1979 a ‘religious wave’ emerged; if the pattern of its three predecessors is relevant it could disappear by 2025, at which time a new wave might emerge.”⁸⁴

The Second Wave of Terrorism in Sri Lankan Context. Of the four terrorist 'waves' identified by Rapport, the island nation of Sri Lanka, experienced the three last 'waves,' in different intensities and different forms. First, the anti-colonial wave was not as intense as the other two subsequent waves and was not considered terrorism, rather a liberation struggle. Although, from an academic point of view, anti-colonial violent movements in Sri Lanka can be termed as '*terrorism as a method of action* (insurgency),' but not, 'terrorism as a logic of action (pure terrorism).'⁸⁵

The Third Wave of Terrorism in Sri Lankan Context. In 1971, the JVP, a group with a communist orientation and extreme anti-west ideology, launched an insurgency. This uprising falls into the category of "communist wave," the third wave. The insurgency was crushed militarily with the support of the international community in the same year. However, it reemerged with an anti-Indian theme in 1987 to protest Indian intervention in Sri Lanka. This rebellion too was crushed through a politico-military campaign. Later the government was able to bring the JVP into the main stream of politics by recognizing it as a political party. The first JVP uprising had more insurgent flavor than terrorism (terrorism as a method of action). However, the second JVP uprising can be termed as pure terrorism due to ferocious action directed against non-combatants; 'terrorism as a logic of action.' The 'communist wave' also termed as the 'third wave' of modern terrorism diminished from Sri Lankan soil paving the way to the 'fourth wave' – the 'religious wave.' However, as quite rightly emphasized in Rapoport's theory, there was an overlap between the third and fourth waves even in Sri Lankan context.

The Fourth Wave of Terrorism in Sri Lankan Context. The fourth wave emerged in 1979 as an insurgency (terrorism as a method of action) and rose to the level of hybrid-terrorism in late 1990s. As per David Rapoport, the name of the wave reflects its global dominance but not its only feature.⁸⁶ In the Sri Lankan context, the fourth wave was biased more towards ethnicity than religion although religion too had a major impact as the majority of the terrorists were Hindus. As per the LTTE philosophy their (Hindu-Tamils) struggle was against the Buddhist Sinhalese.

Rodney Stark's Social Movement Framework in Relation to the Sri Lankan Scenario. The Tamil insurgency in Sri Lanka evolved through a five decades long social movement. Rodney Stark's research paper "Social Change and Social Movement" amply applies to the Sri Lankan scenario. In his paper Stark recognized grievances, hope, a precipitating event, and recruitment through networks of attachment as underlying requirements for a social movement to occur. He also identified the mobilization of people and resources, the ability to withstand a counter movement, the assistance of external allies, and the ability to cooperate with separate like-minded organizations as necessary factors influencing a social movement's success or failure.⁸⁷ Rodney Stark's social movement theory, in relation to the Sri Lankan scenario, is presented at Figure 2.

No	Proposition	Details
For a Social Movement to Occur		
1	Shared Grievances of the Tamil Community (as per their perception)	<p>At the Time of Independence⁸⁸</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Marginalization of Tamils in the Legislative Council⁸⁹ • Donoughmore Constitution <p>Immediate Post Independence Period</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Deprivation of Indian Tamils of citizenship and franchise⁹⁰ • State planned colonization of Tamil areas⁹¹ <p>Post Independence Period</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Sinhala only language policy • Providing Buddhism the foremost place under the constitution • Denial of equal opportunity for Tamils in employment and education • District based university selection • Disfranchising of Indian Tamils⁹² • Sinhala only act⁹³ • Introduction of Sinhala Letter 'Sri' in vehicle number plates⁹⁴ • Ethnic riots⁹⁵
2	Hope – a possibility for success	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 50-50 power sharing for minority • Federal State initially⁹⁶ • Separate state for Tamils living in Sri Lanka – Eelam⁹⁷ • Self determination • Aspirations for autonomy • Greater Tamil State for all Tamils world over

	Proposition	Details
3	Precipitating events	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • July 1983 riots – Black July
4	People are recruited through networks of attachments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Universities⁹⁸ • Schools • Places of worship – kovils, churches • Clubs – youth, culture, social • Mahaveer families (martyr Families)⁹⁹
To Succeed		
5	Mobilization of people and resources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Effective leadership of: Sir Ponnambalm Arunachalam, Mr. Chelvanayakam, Mr. G G Ponnambalam, Mr, A Amirthalingam, Uma Maheshwaran and Velupillai Prbakaran mobilized people • Funds through Diaspora and international network • Funds and resources from Indian Government Initially • Tamil rehabilitation Organization (TRO).¹⁰⁰ • KP factor^{101 102}
6	Overcome external opposition	<p>Effectively fought against:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sinhala Nationalist movements • Successive governments • As a Clandestine Organization LTTE was able to overcome the opposition of the Indian Government by checkmating the mighty Indian Army • Eliminated competitors

	Proposition	Details
7	Enlisting external allies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • State Government of Tamil Nadu • Central Government of India • Front organizations overseas • World Tamil Movement • Tamil Diaspora • Patronage of some governments especially Panama, Honduras and Liberia ¹⁰³ • MOSAD • PLO
8	Separate organizations	<p>Initially:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ceylon Tamil League • Ceylon Tamil Congress • Federal Party • Ceylon Workers Congress <p>Later:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tamil United Liberation Front. • Tamil Student's Movement <p>After 1983, Clandestine Groups. Following are only prominent groups but there were 35 groups altogether:¹⁰⁴</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tamil New Tigers - TNA. • People's Liberation Organization of Tamil Eelam - PLOTE. • Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam – LTTE • Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization - TELO • Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front - EPRLF

	Proposition	Details
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Eelam Revolutionary Organizers - EROS • Elam People's Democratic Party – EPDP • Tamil Eelam Liberation Army – TELA.

Figure 2. Rodney Stark's Social Movement Framework

Between 1983 and 1986 an insurgency, which evolved as a byproduct of social movements, mushroomed due to external Indian support. During that period there were as many as 36 insurgent groups operating in Sri Lanka.¹⁰⁵ As argued by Stark in his social movement framework, these organizations competed with each other vigorously for dominance.¹⁰⁶ This competition helped the LTTE to be the dominant Tamil armed group. The LTTE was ruthless in eliminating whoever differed with their ideology and who was not willing to accept its leadership. This factor, together with the government peace initiatives, led to the demise of all groups except the LTTE.

Donatella della Porta's Terrorism Roadmap in Relation to Sri Lanka. Stark's framework highlighted how social movements occur and succeed or fail. It is interesting to analyze why some of those movements resort to terrorism using Donatella della Porta's framework.¹⁰⁷

Using a modern revolutionary terrorism framework, Donatella della Porta explains how non-mediated interests lead gradually to terrorism through violent repertoires and radical ideologies. In Sri Lanka, Tamil social movements came into being with the founding of Tamil Mahajana Sabhai (TMS-Tamil Peoples Forum) in 1921, the Tamil League (TL) in 1923¹⁰⁸ and the Ceylon Youth Congress (CYC) in 1926. These organizations arose due to non-mediated interests that developed as a byproduct of colonial divide et impera.¹⁰⁹ This movement, inspired by Indian independence, looked

up to leading figures such as Mahathma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru,” as per Rajini Thiranagama a professor at the University of Jaffna.¹¹⁰ Figure 3 illustrates the Sri Lankan roadmap to terrorism based on della Porta’s framework.

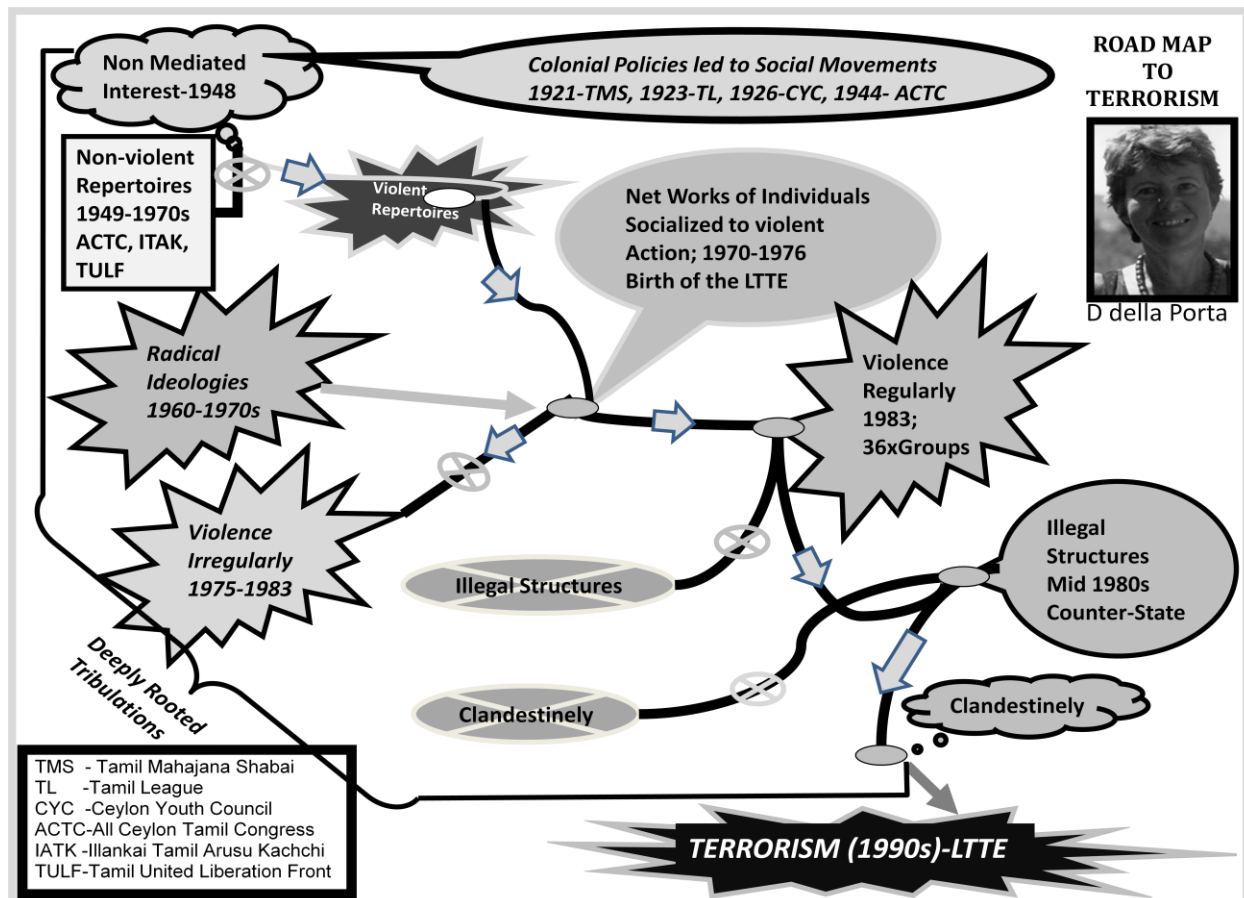


Figure 3. Evolution of Terrorism in Sr Lanka Superimposed in Donetella della Porta's Roadmap to Terrorism

The Tamil social movement gathered momentum with the backing of All Ceylon Tamil Congress (ACTC) in 1944 and Illankai Tamil Arusu Kachchi (ITAK) in 1949. The Driving factors for non-violent social movement were as follows:

- Donoughmore Commission/constitution.¹¹¹
- 50% political representation in legislative council.
- More prominence to Tamil language in government sector.

- Identification of north and east of Sri Lanka as traditional Tamil land.
- Citizenship for Indian Tamils in estate sector.
- More job opportunities to Tamil community.
- Cease perceived Sinhalisation.

During the 1960s and 1970s, short sighted policies of consecutive Sri Lankan governments pushed these non-violent Tamil sathyagraha movements (social movements) into movements with radical ideologies such as Tamil nationalism and self determination.¹¹² The birth of Bangladesh in 1970 and the JVP uprising in 1971 inspired the non-violent social movement to radicalize and take the violent path.¹¹³ In 1970, the first Tamil group that advocated armed revolution, the Tamil Student League, was formed by Sathyaseelan with 40 university students. Later in 1972, the Tamil New Tigers (TNT) were formed by Velupillai Prabakaran with Chetti Thanabalsinghem. These 'networks of individuals socialized to violent action' on della Porta's framework were the nucleolus of insurgency in Sri Lanka.¹¹⁴ In the mid 1970s, these groups resorted to clandestine violent activities such as robberies, extortions and sabotage irregularly and further pushed their agenda to a more radical separate state ideology. Violent activities took a drastic turn with the establishment of the LTTE on 5 May 1976 by Velupillai Prabakaran.¹¹⁵ Commencing from the early 1980s, gradually these 36 clandestine violent insurgent groups (including the LTTE) regularly resorted to bank robberies, extortions, sabotage and killings.¹¹⁶ The late 1980s and early 1990s were crucial in Sri Lankan context as the LTTE commenced building the illegal counter-state and transformed from an insurgency (group that resorted to violent regularly) to terrorism. Clearly della Porta's road map to terrorism applies to the Sri Lankan scenario.

Both these theories highlight terrorism as a product of social discontent. The social discontent that led to terrorism in Sri Lanka stemmed from colonial political interest and was reinforced by misrule, political manipulations, extreme nationalism and geopolitical influence. Therefore, the solution to the conflict had to be based on a strategy which addressed the socio-political and economic aspirations of the affected population. Such a strategy would isolate the extremists from the law abiding population. The LTTE developed its strategy to cater to the common Tamil desire of self rule and to shape the global, regional and local environment to achieve that objective.

LTTE Grand Strategy

The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elam, commonly accepted as a global terrorist organization, claims to be the sole representative of the minority Sri Lankan Tamil community.¹¹⁷ The LTTE, inspired by its cousins in southern India and the world-wide Tamil Diaspora, aspire to create a separate Tamil homeland using the north-east of Sri Lanka as the spring board. As an initial step towards creating a Tamil homeland, the LTTE demands 28.7% of the land mass and 60% of the coastal line of Sri Lanka, which includes a large portion of the countries exclusive economic zone.¹¹⁸

In 1976, the LTTE commenced its campaign as a rag-tag armed group and later transformed into a formidable insurgent entity. In the 1990s, it evolved into a hybrid terrorist group. The LTTE is the only terrorist group in the world to have killed two heads of state from two countries, Sri Lanka and India. The LTTE also maintained a formidable land force and naval capability to threaten and challenge the land and naval powers of Sri Lanka and India. During the early 21st century they also acquired an air capability which could psychologically shake the willpower of the Sri Lankan population by striking

the commercial capital. The LTTE is a classic example of a terrorist organization with hybrid capability and strategy which used a combination of insurgency, irregular warfare, suicide attacks and conventional warfare to achieve its end state. The LTTE hybrid grand strategy is depicted in Figure 4.

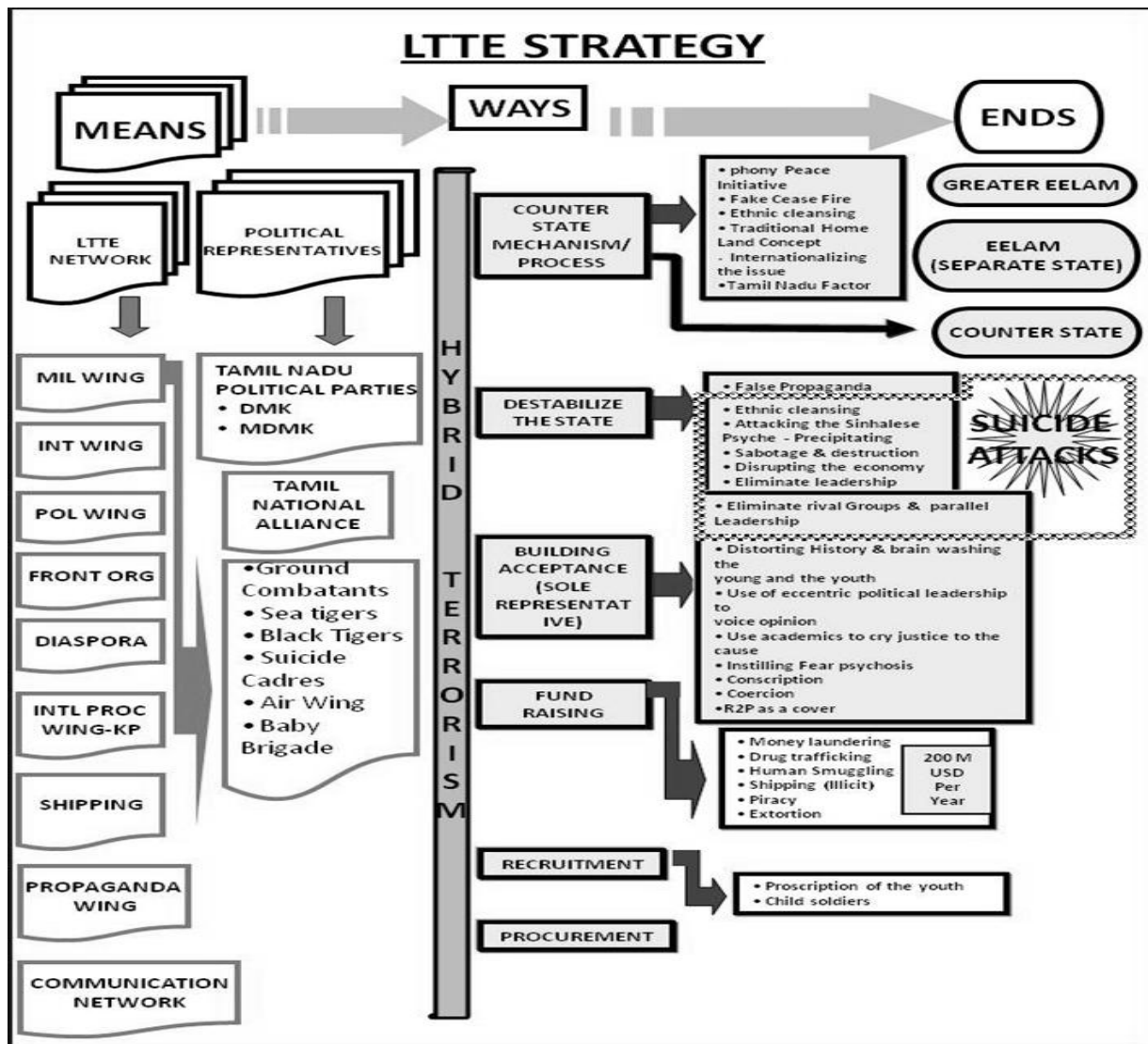


Figure 4. the LTTE Strategy

End State. The desired end state of the LTTE was to create a Greater Tamil Elam for 70 million Tamils living world over. Their step-by-step approach consisted of two initial steps; creation of 'the counter-state' and establishing 'the state of Tamil

Eelam.’ They hoped to achieve these steps by carving out the northern and eastern regions of Sri Lanka, where the majority of the Sri Lankan Tamils live. Finally, they aspired to achieve the desired end state using the state of Tamil Elam as a stimulus. Insurgency and terrorism brought the LTTE to the limelight; but in order to establish the counter-state as the precursor to the separate state the LTTE needed to embrace conventional warfare. The Following are the steps advocated by the LTTE to establish the counter-state:

- Maintain sanctuaries in India for logistical support.
- Establish safe areas under LTTE control where they could enjoy a support base away from Sri Lankan security force controlled areas.
- Utilize periods of ceasefire agreements and peace talks to expand and integrate the LTTE controlled areas to shape the creation of the counter-state.
- Distort history by introducing history books/literature to legitimize the traditional homeland concept to the world.
- Ethnically cleanse in and around the north and east provinces in order to shape the ethnic configuration for the separate Tamil state.
- Internationalize the issue through false propaganda against the government.
- Establish police, courts, banks, taxation system, shadow services and armed forces in order to legitimize the separate state.

The LTTE strategy further destabilizes the state by gaining acceptance as the sole representative of the Sri Lankan Tamil people, raising funds through legal and illegal methods for sustenance and procuring warlike equipment. This strategy strengthened the counter-state, while efficiently destabilizing the nation state of Sri

Lanka through effective use of military, economic, informational, political and diplomatic tools.

Political Strategy. The LTTE developed its strategy based on the “liberating the traditional homeland” concept to achieve the aspirations of the world Tamil community. While shaping their strategy, they considered the domestic, regional and international environment and the influence of the Tamils in these three layered environments. Prior to developing the strategy, they collected a mass of information and analyzed the key elements under the acronym SWOT (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats). The short term objectives of the strategy were to build the organization to a formidable entity and obtain international recognition as a liberation movement by changing the international perception of the LTTE. In the long term they wanted to establish a counter-state to challenge Sri Lanka’s legitimacy to govern the areas under the counter-state. Ultimately they could coerce the international community to recognize Tamil Eelam as a separate state.

The political wing was structured along the lines of an administrative system and was headed by Vellupillai Prabhakaran. The LTTE’s political wing had influence over government officials and gradually went on to control the government institutions. It also extorted money from the people in the pretext of taxation. The cessation of hostilities and cease-fire agreements were a blessing in disguise for the LTTE. They enabled it to consolidate and organize its gains in the north and the east.

In particular, the LTTE used the Norwegian facilitated cease-fire agreement to expand their areas of control and to take measures to gain two contiguous land masses in the north and east as depicted in the map at Figure 5.

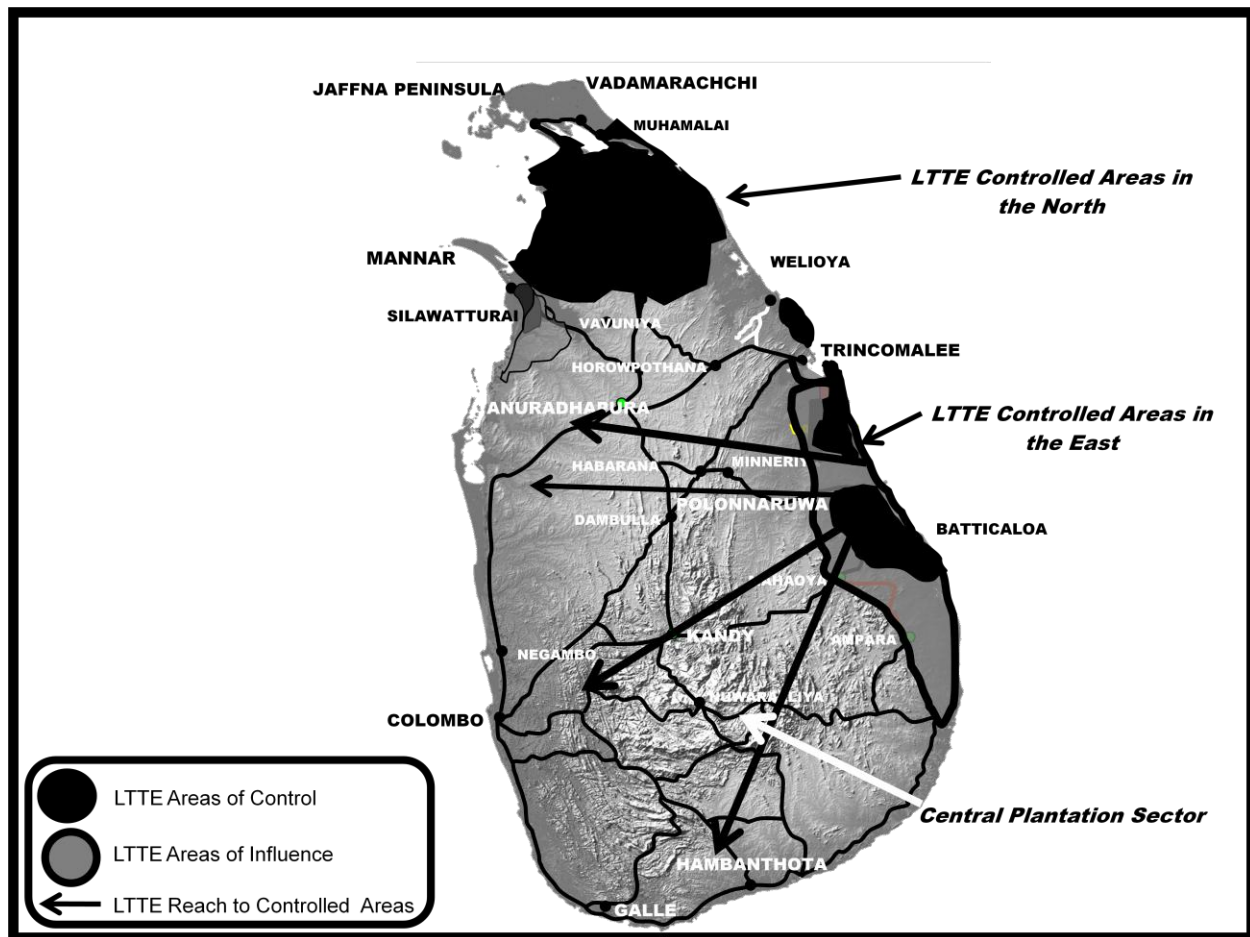


Figure 5. Sri Lanka Map Depicting the LTTE Controlled Areas

In order to maintain the integrity of the northern land mass, the LTTE applied a conventional defense posture as buffer to separate the area from government controlled area. However, due to the demography and geography of the east they had to settle to a more unconventional military posture. Though the Sri Lankan government was still functioning in the local administration, health, and education sectors and the salaries of the officials were paid by the government, law of the gun ruled the area under LTTE control. Local government officials were forced to work for the LTTE administration. In spite of this, the government continued to pay the officials' salaries and continued to send food and medicine to the LTTE controlled areas with the assistance of the World

Food Programme (WFP), ICRC and some other International Non-governmental Organizations (INGO). Distribution of food and other necessities were carried out by the LTTE not only to gain the support of the population but also to replenish their stocks for the anticipated major conventional battle with the Sri Lankan forces.

The LTTE was gradually able to establish full control over northern Sri Lanka and challenge the Sri Lankan government. At the same time they continued to pose as an insurgent group in the eastern province. The LTTE used “terrorism as a logic of action” in the Sinhalese dominated areas to destabilize the government and challenge the will of the nation to fight the LTTE.

The LTTE very astutely used the Tamil National Alliance (TNA) political party as their proxy both in parliament and outside Sri Lanka. The TNA used its political influence to promote the Tamil Eelam ideology very effectively through diplomatic channels, INGOs and visiting foreign dignitaries. They used their parliamentary privileges very effectively to propagate and legitimize their separatist ideology. Although the LTTE could not by itself reach the international community due to its proscription in 32 countries (including their former mentor and enabler India), the TNA was able to fill the political vacuum very effectively.¹¹⁹ Southern Indian politicians were in constant communication, covertly and overtly, with both the LTTE and the TNA. They influenced the Indian central government and other international players in discouraging any form of support to Sri Lanka to fight the LTTE. This led to an unofficial embargo on military equipment to Sri Lanka by India and other western countries including the US and the UK. Though political pressure from southern India precluded overt Indian support to Sri

Lanka to defeat the LTTE, India supported the government covertly in the areas of intelligence and surveillance.

Effective Use of Information, Economic and Diplomacy as Tools of Hybrid-Terrorism. The LTTE information campaign using electronic, print media, and cyberspace domains took full advantage of information technology and was extremely effective. As a violent non-state actor, the LTTE had the edge on propaganda and information over the government as they had no responsibility to the international community on what they had to say or do. In contrast, Sri Lanka action was under the microscope of the UN and INGOs (such as Amnesty International) based on the misinformation spread by the LTTE. Front organizations of the LTTE, namely the World Tamil Forum (WTF), British Tamil Forum (BTF), Tamil Rehabilitation Organization (TRO), and other lobby groups functioned as LTTE diplomatic missions to carry the LTTE message to the international community. These de-facto diplomatic missions had the blessing and unqualified support of non-Sri Lankan Tamils too. This international network worked tirelessly to lobby politicians of foreign nations to support the separate state ideology and to exert tremendous political and economic pressure on the government of Sri Lanka to reach a political solution to integrate the LTTE rather than a military solution to eliminate them. The lobbying campaign was successful in establishing an unofficial embargo on military equipment being supplied to the Sri Lankan government. However, the LTTE quite effectively continued its weapons procurement through racketeers, black-marketeers, weapon-smugglers and rogue-states such as Myanmar. Sadly the international community in general, and western nations including the US in particular, failed to understand the reality of fighting a hybrid

terrorist group such as the LTTE under unfavorable conditions and the threat posed by such organizations to international peace and security.

Financing was never an issue to the LTTE as it was able to collect approximately \$200M per year through legal and illegal ventures. They began collecting money through their de-facto diplomatic missions/front organizations from the Diaspora by voluntary contributions and coercion. Fund raising expanded to an array of legal and illegal business ventures such as international shipping, arms smuggling, human trafficking and other small scale businesses such as gas stations, grocery stores, etc. The majority of gas stations in London were owned by LTTE fronts.¹²⁰ Kumaran Pathmanadan, who was in charge of international procurement and shipping, operated not less than 17 ships in international waters.¹²¹

LTTE hybrid-terrorism diplomacy hoodwinked the western world by misleading it completely on the issue of terrorism in Sri Lanka. The LTTE portrayed themselves as 'liberators' through its front organizations and Diaspora. Although the LTTE was proscribed in 32 countries because of the atrocities it committed, it was able to implement its diplomatic strategy through the front organizations without hindrances. People trafficked by the LTTE for a fee as high as \$15,000 were forced to protest against the Sri Lankan government motivating them on the fact that they will lose the refugee status if Sri Lanka is not portrayed as a dangerous place to live. In hybrid-terrorism, respect for human rights or the reluctance of nation states to take action against terrorist groups due to weak domestic laws are exploited to the advantage of the terrorist organization as effectively done by the LTTE.

Military as a Tool. The overall military strategy of the LTTE was to make the government ineffective through military action and to deny the security forces access to LTTE controlled areas. This would help establish the immediate political objective of acquiring interim self governing authority through the counter-state mechanism.

Gradually the LTTE military developed into a formidable force, able to challenge the two conventional armies of Sri Lanka and India. The LTTE began as an insurgent group using irregular warfare. Over time it began using terrorism as a “method” as well as a “logic” to challenge the government, eliminate all other insurgent groups and kill Tamil leaders perceived as threats. The LTTE killed 2 heads of states, 104 politicians (including the Foreign Minister who was a Tamil) and scores of civilians to induce terror, fear-psychosis, and destabilize the government.¹²² A large number of Sinhalese and Muslim civilians were victims of LTTE ethnic cleansing.¹²³ Many places of worship were attacked and religious leaders were killed in order to generate ethnic clashes as a strategy, to obtain international sympathy.¹²⁴ To bleed the nation’s economy, economic targets such as banks, transportation hubs and industry were frequent targets of the LTTE. Sun Tzu in his writing explained how an adversary can be defeated through protracted war by bleeding his economy. The LTTE advocated the same strategy to bleed the Sri Lankan economy through a protracted military campaign.¹²⁵

The LTTE killed 1,555 Indian and 23,387 Sri Lankan security force personnel and wounded 89,217 from both countries. 2,825 soldiers are still MIA.¹²⁶ The LTTE used a combination of irregular and conventional warfare against both armies to attack convoys, patrols, and military establishments. Later, during the Norwegian brokered cease-fire, conventional defenses were established to protect and control a 6,500 sq km

area in the north. This allowed the LTTE to claim self governing authority of the counter-state. However suicide attacks, assassinations, and ethnic cleansing in the east and other areas of Sri Lanka continued to reflect the hybrid-terrorist campaign.

The LTTE was able to threaten the sea and air lines of communication through their sea capability and limited air capability. They had more than 300 vessels and six submersibles over and above the 17 large commercial vessels. Additionally, they had 11 aircraft and a large number of conventional land weapon systems.¹²⁷ The LTTE is the only hybrid-terrorist organization in the world that had formidable land forces, sea force (to include limited submersible capability) and a limited air capability.¹²⁸ The hybrid nature of the LTTE was partially successful in establishing the counter-state. However, it failed to reach its final objective due to the effective counter-strategy of the Sri Lankan state.

The LTTE assisted the government strategy through a few strategic blunders. The main blunders were; antagonizing the federal government of India by violating the Indo-Lanka agreement, causing severe damage to Indian pride by inflicting heavy damage and casualties to the IPKF, killing Rajiv Gandhi, over dependence on conventional methods of warfare and over relying on the Diaspora while neglecting and harassing the local Tamil community.

Government Strategy to Defeat Terrorism in Sri Lanka

On 17 July 1975, the first casualty of the ethnic terrorism paid the supreme sacrifice for democracy. Mr Alfred Duraiappa, an ethnic Tamil, the mayor of the so called Tamil traditional heartland was brutally gunned down by Velupillai Prabhakaran. He was performing Hindu religious rights in the most sacred Hindu temple in Sri Lanka (Nallur Kovil) when he was shot.¹²⁹ Baptism of terrorism in Sri Lanka exhibits the true

brutal and inhuman nature of terrorism. Since then, successive governments have fought ethnic insurgency and terrorism without any success in numerous ways with the military at the lead. The failure was mainly due to the lack of understanding of the nature of the insurgency and its socio-political dimension. These short-sighted approaches added fuel to the fire and the insurgency grew in leaps and bounds and transformed into terrorism.

In July 1987, the 13th amendment to the constitution recognized devolution of political power to provinces as a solution to the ethnic insurgency. This was the beginning of a long process in developing a pragmatic strategy to defeat ethnic terrorism. This first political attempt ended without success as the political leadership could not harness the political and national will. Neither could it gain the regional support for a socio-political solution. Since 1987 the governments adopted a piecemeal political and military approach. This approach lacked a cohesive application of the elements of national power and provided time and space for the LTTE to establish its counter-state. However, this approach progressively helped Sri Lanka to alienate the LTTE from the populace. After struggling for more than two decades, Sri Lanka finally came out with a winning formula in the form of a cohesive and pragmatic politico-military strategy.

The government counter-terrorism strategy involves three key elements; '*define*', '*isolate*' and '*defeat*'. It expands through a collective and coherent effort based on all elements of national power. Though the world is struggling today to define and isolate terrorist entities in order to defeat them, the tiny nation of Sri Lanka, identified as a third world backward nation by the west, had the political will and the courage to defeat

terrorism through a pragmatic grand strategy developed and executed until the LTTE was comprehensively defeated in May 2009.

Define. No solution to a problem can be reached without identifying, precisely defining and adequately framing the problem. Similarly, no war can be won without identifying and precisely defining the enemy. Even in this complex and ambiguous environment terrorists can be clearly identified based on their actions. The difficulty is to define terrorism with international consensus due to the complex political element incorporated in terrorism. Strategies to defeat such complex entities need cohesive and coherent efforts by a nation as terrorism is only the tip of the iceberg. Therefore, a comprehensive grand strategy to defeat terrorism necessitates terrorism to be defined, in order for all elements of national power to act in concert. In Sri Lanka, initially the LTTE was identified as a terrorist group based on its lack of respect to humanity as well as terrorist action. Afterward terrorism was defined specifically with respect to the LTTE rather than terrorism in general. Sri Lanka focused on actor, action, target and motive as key factors in defining terrorism. The definition therefore will consist of the following key elements:

- Actor - violent non-state, the LTTE specific.
- Action - use or threat to use of premeditated politically motivated violence.
- Targets –non-combatants (state or public), integrity and sovereignty of Sri Lanka and its democratic values.

These important elements of terrorism were made to be understood by all responsible players who were involved in implementing the strategy against the LTTE.

The common understanding of this definition by the entire nation channeled its most valuable assets, the citizens, to identify their common enemy.

Isolate and Defeat. Isolation the most ruthless terrorist groups in the world was carried out through the Sri Lankan comprehensive grand strategy which will be discussed in subsequent paragraphs.

Grand Strategy.

DEFINE/IDENTIFY  **ISOLATE**  **DEFEAT**

Means	Ways	End
<i>Elements of National power</i>	<i>Isolate the LTTE Internationally, Regionally and Locally -especially from the local Tamil community</i>	<i>Defeat</i>
Whole-of-Government	Strengthen the State & Weaken the LTTE	DEFEAT Desired: Total Defeat Acceptable: Join government initiated political negotiations with genuine intentions Predictable: Defeat Locally
DIME(+)	Prevent Indian intervention	
Diplomacy	- Manage south Indian sentiments/south Indian politicians	
Information	- Deny Indian sanctuaries	
Military	- Deny Indian supply chain	
Economic	- Maintain Chinese and Pakistan support	
Political	- Multilateral diplomacy - SARRC	
	Cut off LTTE funding and degrade/dismantle LTTE international network	
	Manage INGO/NGO and Diaspora influence	
	Improve/sustain the economy (7% growth)	
	- Direct foreign investment FTZ	
<i>Means</i>	<i>Ways</i>	<i>Ends</i>
- All line ministries with special emphasis on	- Promoting local industry with incentives	COGs: <i>-Leadership Tamil Population</i> <i>-Indian Factor</i>
- Education	- Infrastructure development	
- Transport	- Sustain free education and health	Objectives: 1. Eliminate leadership. 2. Win over the local Tamil population.
- Agriculture	- Maintain transport subsidy	
- Health	- Sustain agriculture subsidy	
- National integration	Free food for people in LTTE controlled area with the assistance of WFP	
	- Promoting local industry with incentives	
	- Infrastructure development	
	- Sustain free education and health	
	- Maintain transport subsidy	

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Sustain agriculture subsidy <p>Free food for people in LTTE controlled area with the assistance of WFP</p>	<p>3. Gaining Tamil Diaspora support. 4. Destroy LTTE military capability. 5. Obtaining International support. 6. Disrupting financial support. 7. Dismantling the international network. 8. Control the sea</p> <p>Criticalities: 1. Indian factor. 2. Will of the people. 3. Leadership. 4. Sovereignty and territorial integrity. 5. Democracy. 6. International support. 7. Economy. 8. Moral of the armed forces. 9. Procurement. 10. Chinese and Pakistani supply line. 11. Capital City. 12. Buddhism.</p>
	<p>Connect north and east to the rest of the island:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Communication - Education - Transportation - Trade and commerce <p>Sports and welfare</p>	
	<p>Strengthen the state while weakening the counter-state</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Maintain the government establishment in areas under LTTE control - Free food and health for people living in LTTE controlled areas <p>Maintain government education system</p>	
	<p>Information media</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Information disseminated through government media centre - Partial control on military matters - Embedded government media elements with formations <p>counter Diaspora targeted LTTE propaganda</p>	
	<p>Defeat LTTE:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Deny LTTE external supply/reinforcement/support by naval, air and shore patrols - Destroy LTTE international shipping capability - Deny LTTE sea lines emanating from India - Maximum destruction of LTTE - ROE: with a concept of “Zero” casualties to civilian & min destruction of infrastructure 	
Means	Ways	Ends
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Min casualties to own forces - Channelize civilians to government control areas - Separate LTTE from civilians - Identify LTTE positions through surveillance and confirm through Special Operation Forces (SOF) - Eliminate leadership by air/SOF - Destroy LTTE infrastructure - Overwhelming force on conventional LTTE defenses 	<p>13. Ethnic and religious harmony. 14. Communication net work. 15. Infrastructure. 16. Vulnerable villages. 17. Education and health sectors. 18. Media. 19. Transportation</p>

	- Counter irregular warfare by Special Infantry Operation Troops (SIOT)/SOF Rear area security to protect vital interest/economic development	
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Figure 6 – Sri Lankan Government Strategy to Defeat the LTTE

The strategy illustrated above explains not only the complexity of the tasks and objectives but also of the coordination required to implement them. Implementation of the strategy was given highest priority and was entrusted to the National Security Council consisting of the President (Executive, Commander in Chief of Armed Forces, Chairman of the Cabinet and Minister of Defense and Finance), Prime Minister (Deputy Minister of Defense), Secretary to the President (senior most bureaucrat), Secretary to the Ministry of Defense, Secretary to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Secretary to the Treasury, Chief of Defense Staff (four star) Commanders of the army, navy and the air force (three star), Inspector General of the Police, Chief of National Intelligence, and Director General of the State Intelligence Service. In attendance when called upon by the president as an advisor was the Director General Humanitarian Relief. The full Security Council assembled for more than four hours every Wednesday at the President's house. After receiving lengthy briefings and conducting exhaustive deliberations, the President made every vital decision on defeating the LTTE. This decision making process synthesized all the elements of national power in the effort to defeat the LTTE.

Isolate. India was a major factor in isolating the LTTE regionally and internationally. A special team comprised of the secretaries to the president, defense and foreign affairs headed by the cabinet minister and special emissary of the president, the Hon. Basil Rajapakse, was formed to continually engage the Indian government and

obtain Indian support. This out-of-the normal diplomatic process paid dividends in obtaining Indian support to isolate and defeat the LTTE. Through this super diplomatic emissary process in concert with normal diplomatic channels, Sri Lanka was able to proscribe the LTTE in 32 countries and isolate it regionally and internationally.

Through a series of peace negotiations starting from the Indian mediated peace talks and many amendments to the constitution, Sri Lanka was able to meet many aspirations of the Tamil community including devolution of power.

No.	Date	Session	Location
1	3 May 89 - 6 Mar 90		Colombo/Jaffna
2	13 Oct 94	1	Jaffna
	2 Jan 95	2	
	14 Jan 95	3	
	10 Apr 95	4	
3	16-18 Sep 02	1	Sattahip – Thailand
	31 Oct – 3 Nov 02	2	Nakhorn Patham – Thailand
	2-5 Dec 02	3	Oslo – Norway
	6-9 Jan 03	4	Nakhorn Patham – Thailand
	7-8 Feb 03	5	Berlin – Germany
	18-21 Mar 03	6	Kanagawa – Japan
4	22-13 Feb 06	1	Geneva – Switzerland
	8-9 Jun 06	2	Oslo – Norway
	28-29 Oct 06	3	Geneva – Switzerland

Figure 7. Government Political Initiatives¹³⁰

The government peace initiatives after Indian intervention are listed in Figure 7. These political dialogues resulted in channeling all the insurgent groups that took arms against the government except for the LTTE to the democratic process.¹³¹ This lengthy process also influenced the break-away fractions of the LTTE to join the main stream of politics further isolating the LTTE from the society.¹³² The major split occurred in March 2004 when the LTTE eastern commander, V Muralitheren defected with 7,500 of his cadres and joined the government. The political initiatives also helped the Tamil

people understand the government's genuine efforts to solve the ethnic issue through peaceful means. People realized the LTTE counter-state totally depended on government machinery, supplies and funds released for salaries of the government servants in the LTTE controlled areas. The government identified 500,000 people living in LTTE controlled areas as internally displaced people (IDP). This allowed the government to obtain funding and World Food Program (WFP) support to feed these people. Additionally, the Sri Lankan government continued to fund schools, hospitals and other essential services in LTTE controlled areas. The government efforts to function these institutions further distanced the people from the LTTE. Ultimately these actions challenged the de-facto LTTE governance in a practical sense. The cohesive strategy also proved LTTE kangaroo courts and police were only masks of governance. Eliminating Tamil leadership and forced recruitments further alienated the LTTE from the people. The government relentlessly grabbed every opportunity to reach-out to the Tamil people through words and deeds in order to isolate the LTTE. This approach paid handsome dividends in winning over the Tamil community.

Though the conditions were ripe to use the military element of Sri Lankan national power to eliminate the LTTE, the government patiently waited for the appropriate moment. By 2006, the LTTE was responsible for 5,461 violations of the 2002 cease fire agreement.¹³³ They were also responsible for killing 17 Tamil political leaders (including the internationally renowned Sri Lankan Foreign Minister), 1,369¹³⁴ military personnel (including the Deputy Chief of Staff of the Army, USAWC Graduate) and attempting to assassinate the Commander of the Army within the Sri Lanka Army Headquarters using a pregnant woman. In June 2006, when the LTTE disrupted the

water supply to areas of the eastern province, the government decided to launch its military. At this point, the government could no longer turn a blind eye to LTTE atrocities.

Use of Military Power in Concert with Other Elements of National Power to Reach the end State. By June 2006, the government was successful in isolating the LTTE and shaping the regional geo-political environment in favor of Sri Lanka. The LTTE was widely internationally regarded as a terrorist group and India was firmly in favor of the Sri Lankan government's politically-led approach to resolve the ethnic crisis. The Sri Lankan government's pro-Indian approach led to this favorable Indian support to Sri Lanka. All SAARC countries stood firmly by the Sri Lankan government. Pakistan and China became reliable military hardware suppliers. Eastern European countries and Russia assured military supplies to fill the vacuum left by the west that were pushing to a pure political approach which was not a viable solution based on the past record of the LTTE. The economy was progressing at 6% growth and unemployment was less than 7%. China was willing to supply arms on credit which assured an uninterrupted military campaign. President Mahinda Rajapakse led government had a clear majority in the parliament. Parliament provided unstinted support to eradicate terrorism in order to pursue economic development. The people of all communities, that experienced untold hardships for three decades, fully backed the government's efforts to eradicate terrorism. The stage was set and the LTTE's decision to disrupt the water helped the government to make the crucial decision to launch the military to defeat the isolated LTTE. On 28 July 2006 the military led campaign, code named "Humanitarian Military

Operation” with a concept of “zero” civilian casualties kicked off from the eastern province.

Unlike the north, the eastern areas under LTTE control were noncontiguous. The areas under the LTTE control in the north and east were disconnected from each other by a large tract of land under government control (see Figure. 5). The LTTE in the east were biased towards irregular warfare and terrorism and operated from a network of satellite bases. The bases were well fortified and used for artillery positions, forward operational bases and logistic bases. Some camps were close to coastal villages and many were in primary jungles. Main lines of communication between the eastern and northern LTTE controlled areas where the top leadership based their camps were by sea.

Liberation of the East. The military operation was an army led, jointly coordinated effort of all three services. While the navy was employed to cut off the LTTE from the northern main LTTE bases, small groups of army infantry (SIOT) led by SOF, identified and attacked bases with air support. Except for two large uninhabited jungle areas the Sri Lankan military was able to dominate a majority of the under LTTE control. The LTTE was progressively channel to these jungle patches while the civilians were guided through safe corridors to government controlled areas. The channelization and separation of civilians from the terrorists was carried out skillfully by SOF through a combination of information warfare and military maneuvers. The first jungle base fell without much effort as the LTTE tactically withdrew to the larger jungle area. Finally, after completely sealing off the LTTE jungle base, the army successfully launched a major offensive against it. This victory marked the complete liberation of the east from

the clutches of the LTTE without a single civilian death. It liberated approximately 200,000 civilians and recovered \$ 10 m worth of military equipment. The SOF led eastern military operations took one year to complete. Post conflict stabilization operations (to include mine clearing) took almost another two years.

On 10 May 2008, the government held provincial council elections and fully established democracy in the eastern province. A renegade LTTE leader turned politician, Mr. Chandrakanthan Pillayan, took office as the Chief Minister of the Eastern Province with full blessings of the Sri Lanka's ruling party. This sent a strong message of the government intention and the ability to the international community and local Tamil population in LTTE controlled area of the northern Province. Liberation and democratization of the east further alienated the LTTE from the local population and strengthened the credibility and the capability of the Sri Lankan government in defeating terrorism.

Liberation of the North. In March 2007, Humanitarian Military Operation was launched to liberate areas under LTTE control in the north. At the time of the northern offensive, the army did not have a single division in reserve. The northern theatre, unlike the east, was defended by the LTTE with layered conventional defenses. The defenses were highly fortified with reinforced concrete bunkers coupled with "ditch cum bund" obstacle belts reinforced with deadly improvised explosive devises (IED).¹³⁵ Tactics adopted by the LTTE were a hybrid irregular and conventional warfare combined with terrorism. By now, the LTTE was familiar with small group operations of the army. The terrorists were determined to prevent civilians from being separated from them. The army could not use the same tactics which it used in the east. The LTTE

controlled civilian movements and used them as manpower, shields, recruitment base and mainly as a bait of responsibility to protect (R2P) throughout the northern offensive.

The security forces also innovatively changed their tactics to cater to new LTTE threats and concepts. The army's SOF Long Range Reconnaissance Patrols (LLRP) took the lead in destabilizing the LTTE by effectively attacking the LTTE's deep rear and calling in strategic air strikes to destroy the LTTE's high value targets (HVT). These attacks eliminated and destabilized the LTTE's top leadership and communication nodes. The LTTE rear areas became vulnerable for SOF attacks. Successful deep operations forced the LTTE to employ cadres for rear area security by weakening and exposing the conventional defense fortresses.

The high intensity operation progressed until January 2009 when the army and the government faced a new challenge. The LTTE forcefully kept the civilians with them. The LTTE's R2P concept worked and western governments, without exerting pressure on the LTTE to release civilians, exerted tremendous political pressure on the government to terminate the offensive. With India firmly on its side and uninterrupted military supplies from China and Pakistan, the government continued the offensive to the end. On May 19, 2009, the security forces completed the humanitarian operation by liberating 295,000 people and killing the entire LTTE leadership including its leader Velupillai Parabakaran.

From mid 2007 to 2009, the high intensity battle was very costly in terms of casualties to both sides. Approximately 2,000 soldiers left the battle every month due to death, injuries and absence without official leave (AWOL). Although the AWOL rate was small, it still contributed to the loss of manpower. However, due to the government's

effort in maintaining the will of the nation, recruitment was at its peak and 3,000 soldiers were recruited every month. These soldiers replaced the 2,000 casualties and the other 1,000 were used to reorganize battalions and raise two additional battalions per month.

Countering hybrid-terrorism is costly in casualties and manpower. The areas liberated from the LTTE had to be effectively dominated in catering for LTTE infiltration attacks on vulnerable points (VP) and high value targets (HVT). Embankments and sluice gates of all the irrigation reservoirs had to be well secured to deter the LTTE's inundation tactics. From 2007 to 2009, to provide for the large troop requirement, the Sri Lanka army raised 96 battalions, 28 brigades and 12 divisions.¹³⁶ This was possible as the army leadership benefited from mission command practiced at the highest level as the NSC never interfered with operational level decisions. The Sri Lankan NSC arrangement, where all three commanders who conducted the campaign were in the NSC with the president, was similar to Clausewitz's idea of having the military commander in the cabinet.¹³⁷ This professional relationship between the military and the executive branch paid the rich dividend of winning an unwinnable war through excellent coordination of all elements of national power at the highest level of the government. The Sri Lankan civil- military relations fall into the category of 'pro-military Ideology'.¹³⁸ Huntington describes it as a military that enjoys a "high military political power" and reached "high military professionalism" through education, training and experience (maturity).¹³⁹

The navy's role in isolating the LTTE and completely cutting off their supplies weakened the LTTE to a great extent. The air force's, few aircraft, in concert with military intelligence and LRRP teams, was able to eliminate the LTTE's strategic

leadership. The navy and air force were handicapped due to limited resources but utilized those they had to maximum effectiveness. The air force had approximately 15 - 20 fighters and the navy had 11 gun boats, 51 fast attack craft, 40 inshore patrol craft and 12 medium ships in their inventories. However, the war against hybrid-terrorism was won due to bold and innovative leadership that was able to stand against all odds.

Rear Area Security. Protecting the rear is important to protect vital national interests and to boost the nation's morale. The international commercial investment confidence too lies mainly on security and confidence. Keeping the rear void of terrorist attacks during the high intensity military campaigns in the north and east was a major challenge to the government. This daunting task was successfully accomplished by harnessing public support in establishing village and town level vigilant committees. Additionally, security plans incorporating all rear elements of the security forces and police were coordinated. Every administrative cadre and disabled security force personnel were employed to secure the rear. Approximately 3000 disabled war veterans were tasked as surveillance elements with communication equipment to observe and report. This was effective in maintaining rear area security. This system was possible due to the total national commitment in defeating terrorism.

The Sri Lankan strategy to defeat the LTTE is presented in Figure 8:¹⁴⁰

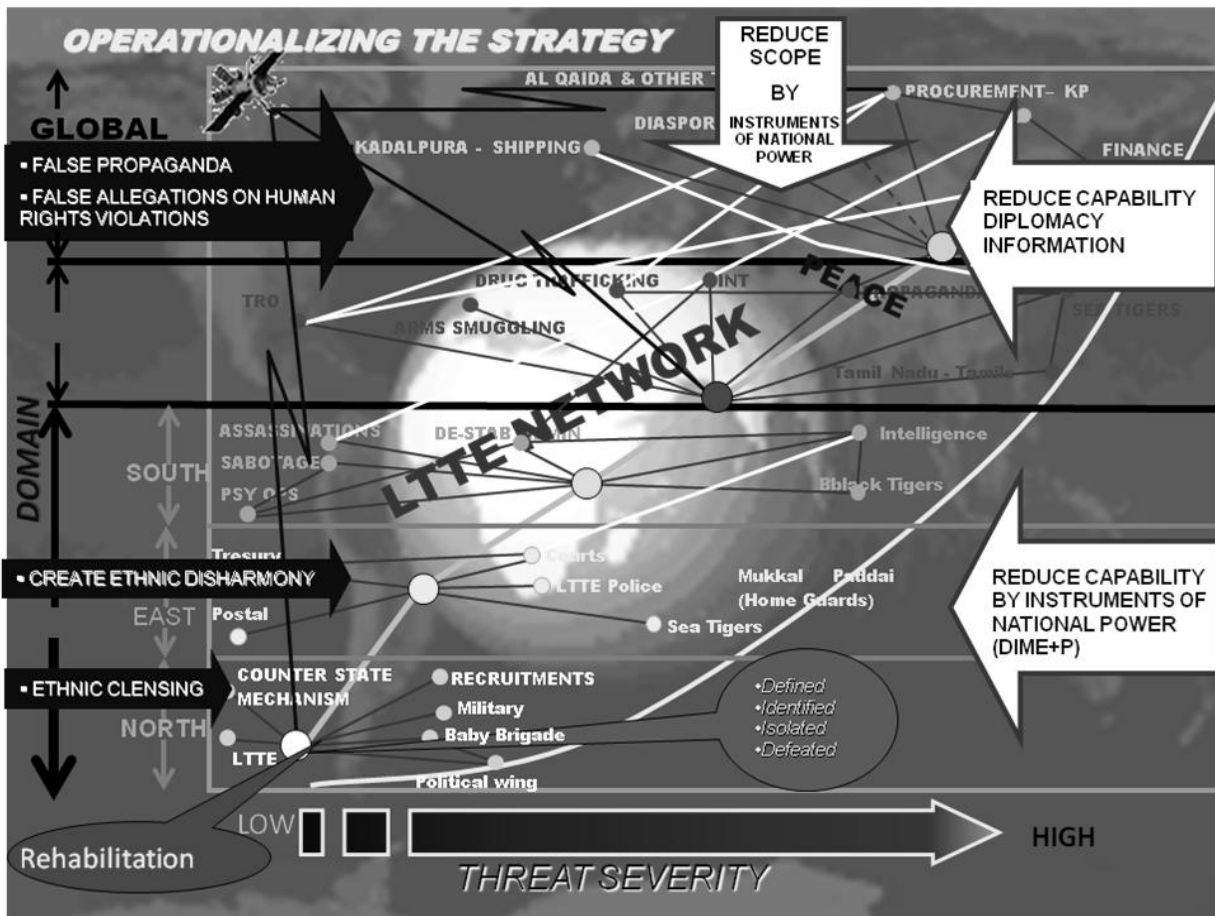


Figure 8. Diagrammatic Layout of the Counter LTTE Strategy

Lessons Learned and Future Challenges

Many lessons can be drawn from the strategic, operational and tactical Sri Lankan experiences in defeating hybrid-terrorism. Sri Lanka, a developing nation with an unsophisticated foot army of 200,000, in concert with an ill-equipped navy and an air force, was able to completely eradicate terrorism from its soil. This was achieved through visionary leadership and a well developed grand strategy which synthesized limited resources and capabilities. The following section will highlight Sri Lanka's

strategic level lessons and future challenges in sustaining peace and achieving prosperity.

Well Defined Grand Strategy. A clearly identified national end state and mobilizing the elements of national power in concert to employ unreserved potential on guidelines provided to achieve the end state succeeded in reaching the end state without ambiguity. The grand strategy emanated from a simple matrix that focused and simplified the entire strategic context by combining and stressing the importance of identifying/defining and isolating the LTTE in order to defeat it.

Visionary Leadership. The political guidance and utilization of the elements of national power was instrumental in tilting the balance in favor of the Sri Lankan government locally, regionally and internationally. Visionary thinking, consistency in decision making whilst facilitating its sustenance by the political leadership was the deciding facet in defeating the LTTE.

Preserving the Economic Balance. The expenditure of manpower, finances and resources was imperative in conducting a protracted and high intensity campaign to defeat terrorism. Because of the well balanced strategy, Sri Lanka was able to continue economic development while conducting the counter-terrorism campaign. Economic and infrastructure development in government controlled areas progressed rapidly due to the effective rear area security plan which deterred LTTE attacks. These developments enabled a 6% growth rate.¹⁴¹

Preserving the Will and National Cohesion. Through its continuous political process and information campaign, the grand strategy was able to maintain the national will until the end. In spite of heavy casualty figures (over 255 deaths and 1,400 injured

per month), during 2008/2009 the recruitment goals were met. This sustained the military campaign.

Information Campaign. Although the information campaign was able to maintain the will of the nation, it was not strong enough to mobilize the diaspora support. This turned out to have negative effects on harnessing international support during the last stage of the humanitarian military campaign.

Balanced Strategic Team. All elements of Sri Lankan national power had representation at the NSC. This composition facilitated the decision making process. The NSC worked as a team rather than an oversight body which helped in harnessing support for the whole-of-government approach. The Prime Minister was also part of the NSC and facilitated necessary legislature and the approval of the monthly emergency bill without difficulty.

Mission Command. Mission command was observed from the strategic level down to the tactical level which encouraged new ideas to defeat the LTTE. The NSC set the example with a non-interference policy. The composition of the NSC strengthened civil-military relationship and created a conduit for mission command. The execution of the war was left to the services and the services executed the war to the satisfaction of the political leadership. The political leadership stood by the military to fight to the end even under tremendous western pressure.

Responsibility to Protect. R2P is an excellent concept. The implementation will be extremely difficult due to challenges in fair judgment. A classic example is the LTTE's deliberate use of R2P as a tool for their advantage. The west was hoodwinked by the LTTE as R2P was the only tool available for them to be rescued during the final

stages of the battle. Innocent civilians paid the price as they were used by the LTTE to draw the attention of the international community. While R2P should remain as a goal the international community should rethink ways to prevent it from being used by belligerents to their advantage.

Exploiting the International Environment. The government took advantage of the post 9/11 international environment. The US led war on terror was helpful in isolating the LTTE internationally due to the tough stance against terrorism. The intelligence sharing improved in the post 9/11 scenario and it was helpful in identifying and destroying LTTE ships in international waters by the Sri Lanka navy.

Meeting Manpower Requirements and Expansion of the Security Establishment. As the final military campaign to defeat the LTTE began in mid 2006, the army had only 9 divisions, 32 brigades and 155 battalions. In order to meet the challenges of hybrid-terrorism, the army expanded significantly. At the termination of the campaign, the army had increased to 21 divisions, 60 brigades and 204 battalions. The strength was increased from 125,000 to 200,000, an increase of 69%. The expansion took place during very high intensity battle. The success was due to the recruitment of over 3,000 soldiers per month. This was enabled by the government's ability to maintain the will of the people to eliminate terrorism. The combat effectiveness of all combat services was maintained at 95% despite the high casualty rate. This was due to the success of recruitment and innovative schemes to reenlist experienced soldiers.

Because Irregular warfare is commander/leader centric in execution, a large number of officers were either killed or injured. This created a vacuum in the middle and

lower level leadership. During the 2007/2009 period, an unprecedented number of 1924 non-commissioned officers (NCO) were commissioned to fill those vacancies.¹⁴²

Misjudging Regional Geopolitics. Small countries such as Sri Lanka should maintain a balanced foreign policy in order to avoid regional powers taking an aggressive stance. This was illustrated by Indian involvement in the 1980's in the Sri Lankan crisis. The western nations act at all times in their national interests. Their national interests are aligned with major regional powers rather than small nations like Sri Lanka. Sri Lanka's foreign policy towards India, during 2000/2009 period paid rich dividends in defeating the LTTE.

Media. Media plays a major role in any military campaign. This double edged tool should be astutely used to your advantage. However, in the Sri Lankan scenario, the media was not handled appropriately. This led to a media battle, where the victor always will be the media. Due to this, Sri Lanka experienced an unfavorable situation at the end of the crisis as media was antagonistic towards the country. The role of media in the 21st century battlefield should be clearly identified and defined at strategic, operational and tactical levels.

Future Challenges. Although Sri Lanka was able to defeat terrorism, the desire for a separate state and the ideology is still alive in the minds of the Tamil Diaspora. In 2011, the Tamil Diaspora, which funded the LTTE from 1983 to 2009, established the Provisional Transnational Government of Tamil Eelam (PTGTE) in order to further the separate state ideology.¹⁴³ The PTGTE has the backing of the GTF, British Tamil Form, Tamil Elam Peoples Assembly, and the Tamil National Council. These organizations are registered and based in the US, the UK, and Norway. 800,000 diaspora and 70 million

other Tamils work hand in glove to meet their aspiration of forming a greater Tamil Nation State using the PTGTE as the conduit.¹⁴⁴ It is a litmus test and a challenge for the Sri Lankan government in the international scene over and above the reconciliation and reconstruction efforts in post conflict situation to win over the influential diaspora and dissuade them on the separatism ideology.

Conclusion

Sri Lanka suffered tremendously for three decades from the mid 1970s to 2009 due to the extreme affects of terrorism. The social fabric of the nation was literally torn apart due to the colonial policy of 'divide et impara' and then by post colonial democratically elected government's mis-governance. Sri Lanka's protracted conflict is an excellent case study for students of sociology, politics and military sciences. This case study will allow students to analyze and highlight the solutions for social issues based on comprehensive strategies to cater for different dimensions. A clear lesson that can be drawn from the Sri Lankan scenario is piecemeal solutions are counterproductive in soliciting solutions to national issues, especially to insurgencies and terrorism. The initial application of military power in isolation to defeat insurgency failed miserably due to the total disregard of regional geo-politics and the social and political dimension to the ethnic issue. All conflicts related to insurgency and terrorism will look like military conflicts on the surface, but it is only the tip of the iceberg. A deep and comprehensive analysis will uncover the social aspects and other related issues and substances of the conflict. This in-depth analysis will help governments develop multi faceted, comprehensive strategies to address the conflict. Though late, Sri Lanka was able to reach that level of analysis as a byproduct of experience during the long drawn out conflict.

The victory against terrorism in Sri Lanka was mainly due to the government's ability to frame terrorism within the larger frame of the politico-social context. Once the real problem was identified Sri Lanka, with the assistance of its regional power allies, was able to develop a plan with local architecture. Despite regional issues India, Pakistan and China were brought in to assist the locally developed plan. Sri Lanka was politically astute in taking into account regional political sensitivities. These countries' assistance proved critical to defeating the LTTE. Harnessing the assistance of these regional powers was one of the crucial elements in defeating terrorism and the biggest diplomatic achievement by any nation state in the recent past. Sri Lanka also took a calculated risk with the western nations by ignoring their political demands. Ultimately this paid dividends in defeating the LTTE's strategy of taking political refuge on the concept of R2P. However, Sri Lanka had to pay the price politically during the post conflict scenario. A close analysis of the conflict will expose the fact that the Sri Lankan government's decision to use regional powers rather than the western powers was the most important and critical decision of the government that helped in achieving success.

One of the most ruthless and militarily and politically powerful terrorist entities of the world was defeated by a small developing nation due mainly to the political maturity of the government in approaching the problem. In a focused and professional manner the military, in concert with other elements of the national power, harnessed all their energies and achieved the desired end state of the government. The NSC played the most crucial role in synthesizing all elements of national power towards defeating terrorism. The NSC, at the pinnacle, was a strong mechanism which was efficient and

forceful in making and implementing decisions. Because of the NSC's composition, it was able to harness the energies of the entire nation in achieving the end state.

The Sri Lankan politico-military strategy that led to the defeat of terrorism will provide many lessons to other nations in defeating terrorism. Though the Sri Lankan strategy is not a template for the global war on terrorism, it will provide valuable guidelines in the political and military domains.

Endnotes

¹ Mudaliyar L.C. Wijesinha, *The Mahavamsa Part I* (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 2000), 31.

² Ancient Sri Lanka was called Lanka and the British later named it Ceylon. In the year 1972 with the adoption of a republic constitution the country was renamed as Sri Lanka by Hon Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike. Sirimavo Bandaranayke is the first women Prime Minister of the world and she achieved this remarkable mile stone in July 1960.

³ Wijesinha, *The Mahavamsa Part I*, iv.

Mudaliyar L.C. Wijesinha, *The Mahavamsa Part II* (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services , 2000), xvii – xxviii.

⁴ Colombo later became the capital of Ceylon under the British rule and presently is the commercial capital of Sri Lanka. Sri Jayewardenepura, which is in the outskirts of Colombo, became the capital in the year 1982 with the shifting of the house of parliament to Sri Jayewardenepura on the 29th April 1982.

⁵ Kandyan Convention, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/310953/Kandyan-Convention> (accessed October 29, 2011).

⁶ W A Wishwa Warnapala, *Ethnic Strife and Politics in Sri Lanka an Investigation into Demands and Responses* (New Delhi: Navrang, 1994), 26.

⁷ Duttagamini and Elara battle - Despite Elara's (Tamil King)famously even-handed rule, resistance to him coalesced around the figure of Dutugemunu, a young Sinhala prince from the kingdom of Mahagama in 161 BC. Towards the end of Elara's reign Dutugemunu had strengthened his position in the south by defeating his own brother Tissa who challenged him. Confrontation between the two monarchs was inevitable and the last years of Elara's reign were consumed by the war between the two.

The Mahavamsa contains a fairly detailed account of sieges and battles that took place during the conflict. Particularly interesting is the extensive use of war elephants and of flaming

pitch in the battles. Elara's own war elephant is said to have been Maha Pambata, or 'Big Rock' and the Dutugemunu's own being 'Kandula'.

The climactic battle is said to have occurred as Dutugemunu drew close to Anuradhapura. On the night before, both King Elara and prince Dutugemunu are said to have conferred with their counselors. The next day both kings rode forwards on war elephants, Elara 'in full armor...with chariots, soldiers and beasts for riders'. Dutugemunu's forces are said to have routed those of Elara and that 'the water in the tank there was dyed red with the blood of the slain'. Dutugemunu, declaring that 'none shall kill Elara but myself', closed on him at the south gate of Anuradhapura, where the two engaged in an elephant-back duel and the aged king was finally felled by one of Dutugemunu's darts.

Following his death, Dutugemunu ordered that Elara be cremated where he had fallen, and had a monument constructed over the place. The Mahavamsa mentions that 'even to this day the princes of Lanka, when they draw near to this place, are wont to silence their music'. Unfortunately this monument has not been found - the stupa which was earlier considered as Elara Sohona ('Tomb of Elara') is today identified as the stupa, Dakkina Stupa.

⁸ Warnapala, *Ethnic Strife and Politics in Sri Lanka*, 26.

⁹ Ibid., 27.

¹⁰ Ibid., 26.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² MR Narayan Samy, *Tigers of Sri Lanka, from Boys to Guerrillas* (Colombo: Vijitha Yapa Bookshop, 1996), 6.

The first batch of south Indian laborers came to work in Sri Lanka in the year 1823. The first available census in 1911 shows a population percentage of 12.9% Indian Tamils against 12.8% of Sri Lankan Tamils. Ratio of percentage – Indian Tamil: Sri Lankan Tamils are as follows: 1921, 13.4 per cent and 11.5 per cent; in 1931, 15.2 and 11.3; in 1946, 11.7 and 11.0; in 1953, 12.0 and 10.9; in 1963, 10.6 and 11.0; in 1971, 11.6 and 11.2; and in 1981, 5.5 per cent and 12.7 per cent respectively. The drastic reduction in 1981 is due to the repatriation of Indian Tamils to India under the Sirimavo- Shastri pact signed between Sri Lanka and India.

¹³ Warnapala, *Ethnic Strife and Politics in Sri Lanka*, 40.

The communal principle of representation, which the British devised as the panacea to the growing conflict between the communities, was an integral part of the British policy of divide and rule.

¹⁴ Ibid., 40.

¹⁵ Ibid., 41.

¹⁶ S J Thambiah, *Sri Lanka Ethnic Fratricide and the Dismantling of Democracy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 67.

¹⁷ Donoughmore Commission, *Encyclopedia Britannica. Encyclopedia Britannica Online*. Encyclopedia Britannica Inc., 2012. Web, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/169200/> (accessed October 29, 2011).

Donoughmore Constitution was recommended by the Donoughmore Commission. Committee sent by the British government to Ceylon in 1927 to examine the Ceylonese constitution and to make recommendations for its revision. The commission's recommendations, reluctantly accepted by Ceylonese political leaders, served as the basis for the new constitution of 1931.

Two of the most important reforms that were suggested concerned elections and electorates. The previous communal electorates, which had been intended to safeguard the rights of minority groups in Ceylon, were abolished. In their place territorial constituencies were substituted, on the grounds that the continued existence of communal electorates would encourage a spirit of divisiveness among the communities.

¹⁸ Warnapala, *Ethnic Strife and Politics in Sri Lanka*, 42.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Soulbury Commission, *Encyclopedia Britannica. Encyclopedia Britannica Online*. Encyclopedia Britannica Inc., 2012. Web <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/555231/Soulbury-Commission> (accessed October 29, 2011).

Commission sent by the British government to Ceylon in 1944 to examine a constitutional draft prepared by the Ceylonese ministers of government and, on the basis of it, to make recommendations for a new constitution. The Soulbury Commission (headed by the 1st Baron, afterward 1st Viscount, Soulbury) called for the retention of universal adult suffrage and territorial rather than communal representation, as specified by the constitution of 1931, which was based on the recommendations of the Donoughmore Commission (1927).

²¹ Oxford Dictionary of Politics, <http://www.answers.com/topic/first-past-the-post-1> (accessed March 2, 2012)

A name for the election system in which the person winning the most votes in a constituency is elected. It is used in Britain, Canada, India, the USA, and other countries associated with British colonialism. It is also known as the (single ballot, single member) simple plurality electoral system. Sometimes it is referred to as a majoritarian or as the simple majority system, which is misleading since a candidate only has to win a plurality (i.e. the most votes), not a majority. Indeed, it is often the case that constituencies are won without a majority. It is also true that parties can win a majority of the seats in the legislature under this system without even a plurality of votes.

²² In the year 1978 the constitution was changed to an executive presidential form constitution with a free economic approach while the electoral system was changed from the first past the post system to more liberal 'proportional representational system' which was embraced by the minority Tamils as a policy towards the right direction in obtaining the support of the minority Tamils and Muslims living in Sri Lanka.

²³ Rohan Gunaratna, *Sri Lanka's Ethnic Crisis and National Security* (Colombo: Vijitha Yapa Bookshop, 1998), 103.

According to Rohan Gunaratna; the predominantly Sinhala Buddhist community, which comprise of 74% of the population, felt that they have long been deprived of their rights during the 150 years of colonial rule by the British. For instance the British and American missionaries had established an excellent education system in Jaffna, the heartland of the minority Tamils, as a result of which the later qualified for nearly 40% of the upper government jobs. As a consequence , the predominantly Tamil Hindus, who constituted only 12 % of the country's population, wielded disproportionate power and authority. Thus, as a consequence of British policy of 'divide et impera', Sri Lanka was, at the very inception, marred by a sense of grievances held by majority community against the minority.

²⁴ Those identified as discriminatory by the Tamils and led to ethnic violence and riots in 1956, 1958, 1961, 1974, 1977, 1979, 1981, and 1983

²⁵Samy, *Tigers of Sri Lanka, from Boys to Guerrillas*, 6.

Notably Sri Lankan Tamil MP and Conservative leader of Sri Lankan Tamils, Ganapathypillai Ponnambalam voted with the government to disenfranchise one million Indian Tamils.

²⁶ Samy, *Tigers of Sri Lanka, from Boys to Guerrillas*, 9.

The Sinhala only act formally the Official Language Act No. 33 of 1956 was an act passed in the parliament of Ceylon in 1956 replacing English language with Sinhala as the official language. Later in 1978 the act was replaced by recognizing both Sinhala and Tamil as official languages in Sri Lanka.

Making Sinhala the sole official language was an election promise to win the election in 1956 by the leader of newly formed Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP). SLFP won election and kept its election promise with vehement protest not only by the Tamils but also by left wing parties led by Sinhala politicians. Eminent leftist, Colvin R De Silva participating at the debate said; "Two torn little bleeding states may yet arise out of one little state (if the bill is passed) ... select between 'one language two countries' or 'two language one country'."

²⁷ Samy, *Tigers of Sri Lanka, from Boys to Guerrillas*, 12.

²⁸ Dudley Senanayake - Chelvanayagam Agreement 1965, <http://tamilnation.co/conflictresolution/tamileelam/65dudleychelvaagreement.htm> (accessed March 2, 2012)

Agreement entered into between Mr. Dudley Senanayake, Prime Minister of Ceylon (and leader of the United National Party) and Mr. S.J.V. Chelvanayagam, leader of the Thamir Arasu Katchi (Federal Party) on the 24th March 1965.

On the basis of this Agreement, the Federal Party extended support to the United National Party to form the Government and the Federal Party nominee, Mr.M.Thiruchelvam was appointed to the Cabinet as Minister of Local Government.

1. Action will be taken early under the Tamil Language Special Provisions Act to make provision for the Tamil language to be the language of administration and of record in the Northern and Eastern Provinces.

2. Mr. Senanayake also explained that it was the policy of his Party that a Tamil speaking person should be entitled to transact business in Tamil throughout the Island.

3. Action will be taken to establish District Councils in Ceylon vested with powers to be mutually agreed upon between the two leaders. It was agreed, however, that the Government should have power under the law to give directions to such Councils in the national interest.

4. The Land Development Ordinance will be amended to provide that all citizens of Ceylon shall be entitled to the allotment of land under the Ordinance. Mr. Senanayake further agreed that in the granting of land under colonization schemes the following priorities will be observed in the Northern and Eastern Provinces:

(8) Land in the Northern and Eastern Provinces should in the first instance be granted to landless persons in the District;

(b) Secondly - to Tamil speaking persons resident in the Northern and Eastern Provinces; and
(c) Thirdly - to other citizens in Ceylon. Preference being given to Tamil citizens resident in the rest of the Island.

²⁹ Mahinda Balasuriya, *The Rise and Fall of the LTTE* (Colombo: Asian Network on Conflict Research), 4.

³⁰ Gunaratna, *Sri Lanka's Ethnic Crisis and National Security*, 106.

The standardization of education in 1970 empowered the education authorities to admit youth to the universities on the basis of the ethnic ratio, as well as the level of education, in a particular district. The most strongly effected were the Tamil youth, particularly from the Tamil majority area of Jaffna, which had the largest number of students entering the universities after the capital city of Colombo. In the years ahead, the Tamil Malavi Peravi (Tamil Students Movement), born in 1970 to protest the standardization of education policy, proliferated into 35 insurgent movements.

³¹ Palitha M. Senanayake, *Sri Lanka the War Fuelled by Peace* (Rajagiriya, Colombo: L & L Printers, 2010), 180-181.

Evaluation of Grievances from Palitha M. Senanayake's perspective is important to comprehend as it is the general perspective of majority of Sri Lankans. This evaluation could be presented as follows"

1) The letter 'Shri' introduced to motor vehicle registration after independence has been replaced with English letters in 1991 and therefore there should be no reason for a grievance to exist on that account.

2) In the first place in the 'Disenfranchisement' of Tamils of Indian origin through the introduction of the Ceylon Citizenship bill 9n 1948 was done with the support of the Ceylon Tamil community and therefore this should not be a cause for the Ceylon Tamils to take arms

against the state while the Indian Tamils who are said to have been 'Disenfranchised' are not a party to this conflict. In any case the question of 'statelessness' have now been solved with majority of the Tamil of Indian Origin obtaining citizenship in 1982 and the balance in stages up to 2002.

3) Introduction of the Sinhala language as the official language with the reasonable use of Tamil in North and East benefited the majority (Sinhala and Tamil) in the country. However Tamil has been made a national language in 1978 and then an official language on par with Sinhala in 1987. This grievance therefore should not exist any further.

4) Colonization of Tamil areas by the Sri Lankan Government with Sinhalese is a lie that can not be proved with reliable statistics and there can not be 'traditional homelands' and preferential treatment areas within a country if that country is treat all its citizen equally. Settlement of landless by the elected Government is not a 'colonization' but a setting up new development areas that contributes to country's production and economy.

5) Non implementation of the Bandaranaike – Chelvanayagam agreement in 1957 was due to the forebodings of the majority Sinhalese that Tamil leaders like SJV were planning to divide the country in stages which would usher in a protracted border war for generations with the Tamil North garnering help from the greater Tamil Nadu in India, only 22 miles away. Such forebodings are reasonable, given the manner in which Tamil leaders like SJVC have conducted themselves since independence.

6) The Dudley Senanayake –Chelvanayagam pact of 1966 too was defeated due to the same foreboding as the previous pact and in any case devolution would not have solved the problem as devolution in 1982 under the DDC's and in 1987 under the Indo- Lanka accord did not alleviate the situation.

7) Standardization of entry marks to the country's universities is an acceptable practice called 'affirmative action' adopted by countries world over and this does not mean a communal basis for entry in to the country's universities. However, after the Tamils vehemently protested, this entry system has been revised and under the prevailing system the university entrants would be selected, 30% on aggregate marks, 55% on regional basis and the balance 15% on disadvantaged areas. The Tamil objection to this shows that it is not 'grievance' that they are protesting against but the loss of a privilege enjoyed up to then.

8) July 1983 riots are not the cause of the Tamil violence but the effect of separatism and violence that made steady progress from around 1975. It would be a matter on interest here to note that the likes of July 83 has never taken place for the past 25 years in Sri Lanka and it was the one and only aberration whereas in countries like India, riots against Muslims take place monotonously as the matter of course, year after year. Further this much demonized events of July 83, has never deterred the Tamil population in settling down in Colombo and other so called 'Sinhala areas'. Majority of the Tamils in Ceylon today (55%) live among the Sinhalese.

From the above, it could be observed that, of the 08 perceived grievances 1), 2), and 3) are nonexistent today : 4) is a grotesque misrepresentation of facts: 7) is a national necessity and a loss of privilege and not a grievance as such to the Tamil society and 8) is a an effect turned in to a cause by sheer propaganda. This leaves out on 5) and 6) which involve devolution of power to the periphery. In this regard whatever the degree of eagerness the Tamil leaders may have for the regions to be empowered, the Sinhalese would express

apprehensions citing Tamil Nadu, 22 miles away and the proven separatist proclivity of the sullen Tamil leaders since the day of gaining independence from British colonials. After all aren't the Sinhalese entitled to some grievances of their own after having been subjugated to colonialism for a period of 443 years by three successive European colonialists?

Yet, despite all those apprehensions of the Sinhalese, the fact remain that attempts were made by the successive SL Governments to devolve power under the DDC's of 1982 and the Indo-Lanka accord 1987 which both scuttled by the violence of LTTE.

Now, the question a student of the Sri Lankan conflict should be asking himself is, does the 'grievances' described above have the potential to propel the Tamil community to take to violence with the dedication and motivation they did for the past 34 years? It is commonly believed that an aggrieved community is compelled to take to the army when they have lost faith in all other avenues of redress. The question then is, is it really the case with the Tamil community as well in Sri Lanka? Do the grievances listed above have the potential to spawn the world's most brutal and deadly terrorist organization in the world? If these grievances possess that potential then by the same token of logic, presupposing that the intensity of violence is a reflection of the extent of grievances, we ought to accept that these grievances are the worst injustice perpetrated on a minority anywhere in this world?

³² Warnapala, *Ethnic Strife and Politics in Sri Lanka*, 44-45.

As against the recommendations Donoughmore commission Ceylon Tamil Congress put forward a scheme of balanced representation – which then was known as the fifty-fifty demand. This scheme postulated equal weightage for all minority communities as against the majority community; and envisaged an electoral system where fifty percent of the seats would be reserved for the minority community. Same principle was extended to the cabinet of ministers.

³³ Samy, *Tigers of Sri Lanka, from Boys to Guerrillas*, 32-34.

Tamils led by Appapilai Amirthalingam formed a Tamil alliance called Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) on 14 May 1976 at a convention that was well attended at Vadukkodai, the birth place of Amirthalingam. At the convention the TULF declared that they will be contesting the next election asking a mandate for a separate state from the Tamil community. As per the TULF manifesto; 'the TULF regards the general election of 1977 as a means of proclaiming to the Sinhalese government this resolve of the Tamil nation, hence the TULF seeks the mandate of the Tamil nation to establish an independent, sovereign, secular, socialist state of Tamil Elam that includes all the geographical contiguous areas that have been the traditional homeland of the Tamil-speaking people in the country.'

³⁴ Senanayake, *Sri Lanka the War Fuelled by Peace*, 212.

Prof KM De Silva (through a Christian) is the most acceptable historian on the modern Sri Lanka history and his account of the early Tamil settlements in Ceylon runs thus, "There is evidence to support the existence of the Tamil settlements in the Jaffna peninsula from 13th Century to the 17th Century. But these settlements were mostly confined to the Jaffna peninsula and their status was always that of an area under the suzerainty of the Kingdom in the south of the country. There have been instances where this province aligned itself with the South Indian Kingdoms of Chola and Pandya but that was mainly during times when the Kingdom to its south was weak and disoriented.

Prof. Indrapala Karthegesu (Tamil) Professor of History of the University of Jaffna corroborate with this position in his writings to the Royal Asiatic Society (13th volume pages 53 and 54) but maintains that sparse Tamil settlements commenced in the 10th century. The important thing however is that they both concur on the position that there was no historical evidence to support the position adopted by the TULF at its Vadukkodai convention in 1976. (i.e. that there was a 3000 year independent Tamil Kingdom in the North of Sri Lanka)

³⁵ Appapilai Amirthaligam - the leader of TULF was initially the mentor of LTTE leader Velupillai Prabakaran. Later TULF became the political proxy of LTTE. However later the LTTE assumed Amirthaligam to be a threat to his leadership and was assassinated him on 13 July 1989 at the age of 60.

³⁶ Samy, *Tigers of Sri Lanka, from Boys to Guerrillas*, 33.

³⁷ Rohan Gunartna, *Indian Intervention in Sri Lanka, the Role of India's Intelligence Agencies* (Colombo: South Asian Network on Conflict Research, 1994), 89.

From the late 1800s to date, the history of Tamil Nadu is chequered with events that reveal the inner drive among the Tamil people for self rule and need to create a 'Dravida Desam' (Tamil Country – greater Tamil Elam) – a separate country for all Tamil people. The Dravidayan nation is expected to include Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Andhara, Karanataka (the southern states of India), and the proposed state of Tamil Elam in northern Sri Lanka, and Malaya nadu in the central plantation sector (where the British planted over a million Tamils from south India as cheap labor). If this succeed countries such as Fiji and Maritius too are expected to join the Dravidian Nation State.

³⁸ <http://www.google.com/imgres?imgurl=http://davidderrick.files.wordpress.com/2007/09/adams-bridge.jpg&imgrefurl=http://davidderrick.wordpress.com/2007/08/&h=584&w=755&sz=141&tbnid=iyWoEGGjdDU3oM:&tbnh=90&tbnw=116&prev=/search%3Fq%3Dgulf%2Bof%2Bmannar%26tbn%3Disch%26tbo%3Du&zoom=1&q=gulf+of+mannar&docid=1uv15NXobTOa1M&sa=X&ei=LqRST6zkFKXg0QH77dWDDg&ved=0CEgQ9QEwBg&dur=1279> (accessed March 2, 2012)

³⁹ *India's Population*, <http://geography.about.com/od/obtainpopulationdata/a/indiapopulation.htm> (accessed October 29, 2011)

⁴⁰ Adam's Bridge, http://www.google.com/search?q=adam's+bridge&hl=en&qscrl=1&nord=1&rlz=1T4SKPT_enUS441US441&biw=1162&bih=545&site=webhp&prmd=imvns&tbn=isch&tbo=u&source=univ&sa=X&ei=r1StTuHxAabw0gGI1PiRDw&sqi=2&ved=0CDAQsAQ (accessed October 30, 2011)

⁴¹ The South Asian numbering system, used today in the Indian subcontinent (comprising India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Nepal), is based on grouping by two decimal places, rather than the three decimal places commonplace in most parts of the world. This system of measurement introduces separators into numbers in places appropriate to the two-digit grouping. For example, 30 million (3 crore) rupees would be written as ₹3,00,00,000, with commas at the thousand, lakh, and crore levels, instead of ₹30,000,000.

⁴² Confrontations between Sri Lanka Navy and LTTE in this stretch led to many political disputes between the two nations due to south Indian political pressure. South Indian politicians

described these attacks as Sri Lankan government's aggression against poor Indian Tamil fisherman and wanted Indian central government to condemn Sri Lankan Navy action and exert political pressure to prevent Sri Lankan Navy patrols in catering to the needs of the LTTE.

⁴³ Gunaratna, *Indian Intervention in Sri Lanka*, 89.

From the late 1800s to date, the history of Tamil Nadu is chequered with events that reveal the inner drive among the Tamil people for self rule and need to create a 'Dravida Desam' (Tamil Country) – a separate country for all Tamil people. The Dravidayan nation is expected to include Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Andhra, Karnataka (the southern states of India), and the proposed state of Tamil Elam in northern Sri Lanka, and Malaya nadu in the central plantation sector (where the British planted over a million Tamils from south India as cheap labor). If this succeed countries such as Fiji and Mauritius too are expected to join the Dravidian Nation State.

⁴⁴ Gunaratna, *Indian Intervention in Sri Lanka*, 89.

⁴⁵ He quoted Lord Buddha; said "nāhi vera verani", "Hatred will not tranquil through haltered but only by compassion" "therefore Japan should be given an opportunity to transform by accepting them to the world community."

⁴⁶ Shastri Dutta Pant, *Machination of RAW in South Asia* (Sirud, Nepal: Institute for Rural Development, 2005), 24.

RAW was formed on 21 Sept 1968 by bifurcating the IB (intelligence Bureau) by R N Kao the spy king of India. Sri Lanka was covered by IB from 1953 and RAW commenced its operations since 1970.

⁴⁷ Gunaratna, *Indian Intervention in Sri Lanka*, 22.

As per Rohan Gunaratna, the terrorism specialist, Moraji Desai, Indira Gandhi's deputy prime minister and later prime minister of India was a CIA agent during Johnson administration through 303 committee, the covert intelligence group that was replaced by the 40 committee under the Nixon administration. Gandhi dismissed him for non cooperation. Desai allegedly revealed plans by India to invade East Pakistan and Gandhi's dealings with the Soviets, etc

⁴⁸ RAW never wanted to divide Sri Lanka as they advocated in the 1971 Pakistani operation because it will stimulate descent in South India.

⁴⁹ Gunaratna, *Indian Intervention in Sri Lanka*, 5-6.

Not like in Pakistan where India forced Pakistan to declare war against India through a series of covert action to build a force to support the Indian army during war, RAW wanted to shape a situation in Sri Lanka to force Sri Lanka to invite Indian intervention. This really worked to their plan and later in the year 1986 President J R Jayawardene invited then Prime Minister of India to help resolve the crisis through Indian intervention by signing the Indo-Lanka accord.

⁵⁰ Gunaratna, *Indian Intervention in Sri Lanka*, 5.

⁵¹ Rameshwar Nath Rao is the most remarkable spy master in the history of India as per Rohan Gunaratna. If not for his contribution to India's formidable RAW which comprises of

10,000 men and women and 40 stations within and outside India, South Asia's geographic, economic and political landscape, particularly that of Sri Lanka Would have been markedly different. The spy master lived in speculation amidst tight security in Vasant Vihar until his death in 2002.

⁵² Gunaratna, *Indian Intervention in Sri Lanka*, 89.

R N Kao was the national security advisor to Ms Indira Gandhi former Prime Minister of India.

⁵³ Ibid., 23.

⁵⁴ A large number of refugees took shelter in South India after ethnic riots broke out in July 1983. Riots broke out after 13 soldiers were ambushed and killed by Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elam (LTTE) on the 13th of July 1983. For the first time in the Sri Lankan history such a large number of soldiers were killed in one incident. Riots are considered as the water shed of the Sri Lankan history and the precipitating event in terrorism/insurgency.

⁵⁵ Gunaratna, *Indian Intervention in Sri Lanka*, 35.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 48.

⁵⁷ Vadamaratchi is the birth place of the LTTE leader Velupillai Prabhakaran – see map at Figure 5.

⁵⁸ Gunaratna, *Indian Intervention in Sri Lanka*, 183.

⁵⁹ P A Ghosh, *Ethnic Conflict in Sri Lanka and the Role of the Indian Peace Keeping Force* (New Delhi: A P H Publishing Cooperation, 1999), 7.

⁶⁰ During the honor guard presented to Rajive Gandhi a Naval rating attacked Gandhi using his rifle butt to exhibit his displeasure of Indian involvement. Vijayamuni a young Navel rating's action represents the sentiments of the majority of Sri Lankans and cannot be considered as an isolated incident.

⁶¹ Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna- JVP (peoples Liberation Organization). JVP is a communist oriented insurgent group. It is aligned to Che Guerra form of concepts and launched an insurrection in April 1971. The insurrection was crushed and was recognized as a democratic political party. In 1983 the JVP was banned by the government for their alleged involvement in ethnic riots. The JVP went underground and re-launched the insurgency in ferocious manner with the theme a new theme against the Indian intervention.

⁶² The British administered Sri Lanka with nine provinces (Northern, eastern, western, central, north central, sabaragamuwa, southern, uva, north western) and 24 administrative districts. The demarcations were made to suit their divide and rule policy. North was populated by majority of Tamils while the east was populated from 1/3 of major ethnic communities living in Sri Lanka, namely Sinhalese, Tamil and Muslims. Due to the sensitive nature of east and demands by both parties, the government and LTTE, indo-Lanka accord stipulated it to be temporarily merged with the north until a referendum is conducted in the eastern province, after one year of the signing of the agreement decide its fate.

⁶³ H L De Silva, *Sri Lanka a Nation in Conflict, Threats to Sovereignty, Territorial Integrity, Democratic Governance and Peace* (Borelesgamuwa, Colombo: Visidunu Prakashakayo (Pvt) Ltd, 2008), 87.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 188.

⁶⁵ Statistical Report on General Elections, 1989 to the ninth Lok Sabha, http://eci.nic.in/eci_main/statisticalreports/LS_1989/Vol_I_LS_89.pdf (accessed March 3, 2012)

The 1989 Indian general election were held because the previous Lok Sabha has been in power for a five years, and the constitution allowed for new elections. Even though Rajiv Gandhi won the last election by a landslide, this election saw him trying to fight off scandals that had marred his administration.

The Bofors scandal, rising terrorism in Punjab, involvement in Sri Lanka to fight the LTTE were just some of the problems that stared at Rajiv's government.

⁶⁶ Gunaratna, *Indian Intervention in Sri Lanka*, 315.

The LTTE losses were 2,200 dead and 1,220 injured while 3,000 – 4,000 civilians were killed

⁶⁷ Ibid., 355-402.

Tamil National Army (TNA) of 10,000 men was created by RAW and the Indian Training Corps. Youth forcibly conscripted for the TNA to fill the vacuum created by the de-induction of the IPKF. A budget of 10 crore is covertly granted to RAW by New Delhi for this operation. Elam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF) with the support of RAW, embarked on a venture to print Sri Lankan Rs. 500 notes in Madras. The Chief Minister of the newly created North-east is the leader of EPRLF.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 383.

⁶⁹ Members of the TNA were mercilessly massacred by LTTE. This is one instance LTTE showed its ruthless attitude on their own ethnic group. After massacring the leadership and members arms, ammunition and equipment were taken by LTTE to strengthen their armory, which later was used against Sri Lankan armed forces.

⁷⁰ Main architects of the Indo-Lanka award Prime Minister of India Shri Rajiv Gandhi and the presidential hopeful and the leader of the opposition Mr Gamini Dissanayake were later assassinated by the LTTE as revenge for forcing the accord on them. Both were killed at election rallies on and on 24 October 1994 respectively.

⁷¹ D R Kaarthikeyan and Radhavinod Raju, *Trump of Truth, the Rajive Gandhi Assassination, the Investigation*, (Colombo: Vijitha Yapa Publications, 2004),172-173.

⁷² Rajesh Kadian, *India's Sri Lanka Fiasco – Peacekeepers at War* (New Delhi: Vision Books, 1990),140-141.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Kaarthikeyan, *Trump of Truth*, 17.

Rajiv Gandhi former Prime Minister and the President of the Congress (I) party in India decided to address an election rally at Sriperumbudur a small sleepy town 50 km south west of Madras. Security at the location was tight due to the threat on the life of Gandhi from LTTE. However women LTTE suicide cadre with a garland in hand approached Gandhi but prevented initially by his security contingent. Gandhi being a true politician vying for the premiership signaled the security personnel to allow the women to garland him. “She placed the sandalwood garland around his neck. She then bent as if to touch Gandhi’s feet a common ritual in India where the young touch elders’ feet as a mark of respect. This was at 10.20 PM. As she bent down, there was a sudden and deafening sound, with fire and smoke rising to about 20 feet at the spot where Gandhi stood. As the smoke lifted, there was no sign of any life near where Gandhi had been standing” as per Kaarthikeyan.

⁷⁵ The LTTE was banned in 32 countries after declaring it as a terrorist organization.

⁷⁶ Kadian, *India’s Sri Lanka Fiasco*, 145.

⁷⁷ First Nuclear Test at Pokhran in 1974, <http://www.fas.org/nuke/guide/india/nuke/first-pix.htm> (accessed March 4, 2012)

⁷⁸ India's Nuclear Weapons Program, Operation Shakti: 1998, <http://www.nuclearweaponarchive.org/India/IndiaShakti.html> (accessed October 22, 2011)

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ David Rapoport, “the four Waves of Terrorism.” in *Attacking Terrorism; Elements of a Grand Strategy*, ed. Audrey Kurth Cronin and James M Ludes (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2004), 46.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Michel Wieviorka, “Terrorism in the Context of Academic Research.” in *Terrorism in Context*, ed. Martha Crenshaw (Pennsylvania; the Pennsylvania University Press – 2010), 601.

⁸⁶ Rapoport, *the four Waves of Terrorism*, 47.

⁸⁷ Rodney Stark, *Sociology* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth/Thomson Learning, 2004 - 9th edition), 596.

⁸⁸ Colonel Udaya Perera, *Ethnic Crisis in Sri Lanka – the Pathway to Terrorism*, August 1, 2005.

⁸⁹ Warnapala, *Ethnic Strife and Politics in Sri Lanka*, 40-41.

⁹⁰ Samy, *Tigers of Lanka from Boys to Guerrillas*, 11.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Ibid., 7.

⁹³ Ibid., 16.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 12.

⁹⁵ Rohan Gunaratna, *International and Regional Security Implications of the Sri Lankan Tamil Insurgency* (London: International Foundation of Sri Lankans, 2001), 10.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Rajan Hoole, Daya Somasundaram, K. Sriharan, Rajini Thiranagama, *The Broken Palmyra; The Tamil Crisis in Sri Lanka – an Inside Account* (Claremont, CA: The Sri Lanka Studies Institute, 1990), 18-19.

⁹⁸ Rohan Gunaratna, *Sri Lanka's Ethnic Crisis and National Security* (Colombo: South Asian Network on Conflict Research, 1998), 18.

⁹⁹ Mahaveer (martyr) Families are housed in clusters by the LTTE in order to provide them with better privileges than to the others in the community. While the families are well looked after by the LTTE, they are indoctrinated to take revenge from either the Sinhala leaders or the military. Once the indoctrination process is completed they are absorbed in to the LTTE's elite Black Tiger Wing to carryout suicide missions. Thereafter the target is selected and the decision is made to carryout the attack after extensive reconnaissance missions. The day prior to the cadre is released for the mission; Prabakaran personally speaks to the cadre followed by dinner. Before releasing the cadre Prabakaran will pose for a photograph with the suicide bomber.

¹⁰⁰ Gunaratna, *Sri Lanka's Ethnic Crisis and National Security*, 25.

TRO was established in 1986/1987 in Madras with Seed money provided by the then Tamil Nadu Chief Minister, M G Ramachandran. TRO had offices the world over from the US state of Maryland to Botswana. When Tamil expatriates makes contributions to the LTTE, it is understood that the money goes in to procure military hardware as well.

¹⁰¹ Gunaratna, *Sri Lanka's Ethnic Crisis and National Security*, 26.

¹⁰² Kumaran Pathmanadan alias KP is responsible for the international network of the LTTE including the Shipping Line. KP operates with many aliases and passports. He is also wanted by the Central Bureau of Intelligence (CBI), India in connection with Rajiv Gandhi assassination. Interpol too is after him for his links for arms smuggling and drug trafficking. He is one of the key figures in fund raising. The author succeeded in apprehending KP from one of the south east Asian Countries and deporting him to Sri Lanka.

¹⁰³ Gunaratna, International and Regional Security Implications of the Sri Lankan Tamil Insurgency, 29.

¹⁰⁴ Rohan Gunaratna, *War and Peace in Sri Lanka* (Colombo: Institute of Fundamental Studies, Sri Lanka, 1987), 25.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 26-27.

A list of Tamil militant groups:

1.LTTE (Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam), 2.PLOTE (People's Liberation Organization of Tamil Eelam), 3.TELO (Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization), 4.TELA (Tamil Eelam Liberation Army), 5.TEA (Tamil Eelam Army), 6.EROS (Eelam Revolutionary Organization of Students), 7.EPRLF (Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front), 8.TELE (Tamil Eelam Liberation Extremists), 9.TERO (Tamil Eelam Revolutionary Organization), 10.TERPLA (Tamil Eelam Revolutionary People's Liberation Army), 11.RFTE (Red Front of Tamil Eelamists), 12.TELG (Tamil Eelam Liberation Guerrillas), 13.NLFTE (National Liberation Front of Tamil Eelam), 14.IFTA (Ilankai Freedom Tamil Army), 15.TEDF (Tamil Eelam Defense Front), 16.TENA (Tamil Eelam National Army), 17.TPSO (Tamil People's Security Organization), 18.TPSF (Tamil People's Security Front), 19.TEC (Tamil Eelam Commando), 20.TELF (Tamil Eelam Liberation Front), 21.TEEF (Tamil Eelam Eagles Front), 22.GATE (Guerilla Army of Tamil Eelam), 23.RCG (Red Crescent Guerillas), 24.EM (Eagle Movement), 25.SRSL (Socialist Revolutionary Social Liberation), 26.TEBM (Tamil Eelam Blood Movement), 27.TPCU (Tamil People's Command Unit), 28.ELT (Eelam Liberation Tigers), 29.TLDF (Tamil Liberation Defense Front), 30.RELO (Revolutionary Eelam Liberation Organization), 31.TESS (Tamil Eelam Security Service), 32.PLP (People's Liberation Party), 33.TPDF (Tamil People's Democratic Front), 34.TELC (Tamil Eelam Liberation Cobras), 35.TS (Three Stars), 36.ENDLF (Eelam National Democratic Liberation Front).

¹⁰⁶ Stark, Sociology, 596.

¹⁰⁷ Donatella Della Porta, "Left-Wing Terrorism in Italy," in *Terrorism in Context*, ed. Martha Crenshaw (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995), 156.

¹⁰⁸ Asoka Bandarage, *The Separatist Conflict in Sri Lanka; Terrorism, Ethnicity, Political Economy* (UK: Routledge, 2009), 35.

¹⁰⁹ Thiranagama, *The Broken Palmyra*; 15.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

Rajini Thiranagama, a Tamil professor from the University of Jaffna was killed on 21 September 1989 by the LTTE as her scholarly work was critical on LTTE's atrocities.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Sathyagraha is the term for nonviolent movement advocated by Mahatma Gandhi.

¹¹³ Thiranagama, *The Broken Palmyra*, 16.

¹¹⁴ Kadian, *India's Sri Lanka Fiasco*, 64.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Gunaratna, *War and Peace in Sri Lanka*, 26-27.

¹¹⁷ Ministry of Defense, Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, *Humanitarian Operation Factual Analysis, July 2006 – May 2009*, 12, http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/report/2011/sri-lanka-mod-humanitarian-op_20110801.htm (accessed February 27, 2012).

The unambiguous nature of the LTTE led it to be designated and proscribed as a terrorist organization in 32 countries, including India (since 1994), the USA (since 1997), the United Kingdom (since 2001) and the EU (since 2006).

¹¹⁸ Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) is approx 65,500 x 23.

¹¹⁹ Following countries proscribed the LTTE as a FTO: the US, India, the UK, Canada, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Latvia, Italy Lithuania, Luxemburg, Netherland, Malta, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden and Sri Lanka.

¹²⁰ Directorate of Military Intelligence, Sri Lanka Army.

¹²¹ Ministry of defense, *Humanitarian Operations*, 24-25.

¹²² Ibid., 88-113.

¹²³ Ibid., 106-113.

¹²⁴ Ibid., 96-105.

¹²⁵ Samuel B Griffith, *Sun Tzu, the Art of War*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), 72-76.

¹²⁶ Directorate of Military Intelligence (DMI), Sri Lanka.

¹²⁷ Ministry of defense, *Humanitarian Operations*, 18-21.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 16-27.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 5.

¹³⁰ Ibid., 28.

¹³¹ Out of 36 insurgent organizations mentioned at Endnote 105, 35 gave up violence.

¹³² Bandarage, *The Separatist Conflict of Sri Lanka*, 194.

¹³³ Ministry of defense, *Humanitarian Operations*, 41.

LTTE violation by category: 1. Abduction of Civilians-1,189, 2. Provocative Activities-659+247+114, 3. Protest Campaigns-124, 4. Ransom-46, Conscriptions-434, 5. Forcible Removal of Private Vehicles-93, 6. Harrassment to Civilians-373, 7. Construction of New Camps-11, 8. Killing Civilians-800, 9. Killing Security Personnel-1,369, 10. Naval Exercise-2. TOTAL-5,461.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ “Ditch cum Bund” is a conventional defense concept followed by India and Pakistan to protect its borders. It is a tank ditch followed by a high embankment to break the momentum of a armor attack. The ditch is generally reinforced with anti personnel and tank mines.

¹³⁶ Total army combat formations raised to cater for the campaign: Battalions – 14 x support arms, 77 x infantry and 5 x services. Infantry brigades – 28. Divisions 12 out of which 8 were designated as Task Forces.

¹³⁷ Michael Howard and Peter Paret, *Carl Von Clausewitz, on War* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1989),608.

¹³⁸ Samuel P Huntington, *The Soldier and the State, the Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations* (Massachusetts: the Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2003), 96-97.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

The Sri Lankan Civil- Military relations fall into the category of Pro-military Ideology as described by Huntington with a military that enjoyed a “high military political power” and reached “high military professionalism” through education, training and experience (maturity). As per Huntington’s theory there are five types of civil-military relationships; one, Antimilitary ideology, high military political power and low military professionalism, two, Antimilitary Ideology, low military political power and low military professionalism, three, Antimilitary ideology, low military political power and high military professionalism, four, Pro--military ideology, high military political power and high military professionalism, Five, Pro-military ideology, low military political power and low military professionalism. As per him a society with continuing security threats and an ideology sympathetic to military values may permit a high level of military political power and yet still maintain military professionalism and objective civilian control. While a recent example of such an ideology is Sri Lanka (2005-2009), Prussia and Germany during Bismarckian-Moltkean epoch (1860-1890) provides an historical example.

¹⁴⁰ The format (design) used was in the US counter-terrorism strategy-2005.

¹⁴¹ Source, <http://www.lankabusinessonline.com/fullstory.php?nid=863665020>(accessed; February 27, 2012)

¹⁴² Directorate of Operations, Sri Lanka Army.

¹⁴³ Diaspora was able to collect \$ 200 to 250 million per year through legal and illegal means to fund the LTTE to continue the fight for a separate state.

¹⁴⁴ Chief of National Intelligence (CNI) Sri Lanka.

As per the latest statistics, the main concentrations of the Sri Lanka Tamil Diaspora are; Canada-380,000, the UK-300,000, India-150,000, France-100,000, Germany-60,000, Switzerland-42,000, Australia-40,000, the USA-35,000, Italy-23,000, Malaysia-20,000.